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THE NEW BIOGRAPHY

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The most widely read German author of today¹ is a writer of the new biography. Emil Ludwig is not a research historian, but a portraitist. He is an artist whose task it is to "construct a whole out of the data furnished by the investigator."² He was born in Breslau in 1881, and at an early age displayed interest in play-writing. During the ten-year period between 1901 and 1911, while engaged in legal and mercantile pursuits, Ludwig found time to write twelve plays, six of which have been staged. In the spring of 1914 he went to London as correspondent for the *Berliner Tageblatt*. In this capacity he met many celebrities whom he observed closely and wrote about in his unique way. During this period he not only became one of the best journalists of the day, but also gained political knowledge which later proved invaluable in his literary work.

In 1918 Ludwig's novel, *Diana*, appeared and was followed the next year by its sequel, *Quiet Sea*. In 1920 he turned from the drama and the novel to biography. Since this time the following biographical works by Mr. Ludwig have been published: *Goethe*, *Genius and Character*, *Napoleon*, *William Hohenzollern*, *Bismarck*, *The Son of Man*, *Lincoln*, *Three Titans*, and *Schliemann*. Although the books were first published in Germany, since 1926 they have been translated and have won for this author a large American following.³

¹Stefan Zweig, "Ludwig at Fifty," *The Living Age*, CCCXL, (April, 1931), 163.

²Emil Ludwig, *Bismarck, the Story of a Fighter*, vii.

³Horace Gregory, "Ludwig on Ludwig," *The Nation*, XCCCIII, (December 30, 1931), 729; Dilly Tante, ed., *Living Authors*, 237.

Emil Ludwig has not long been a student of history. He had never worked with documentary material until he was thirty-eight years of age. He admits that he has never opened a historical work, other than Plutarch, Carlyle, Burchhardt, Breysig, and Tonnies, unless his studies obliged him to do so.⁴ Plutarch he considers the most modern of all portraitists, for in his work the reader may find the replica of his own inner experience.⁵

Ludwig has always been a student of human nature, if not of history. From boyhood he has found delight in comparing and analyzing people. He learned to know the emotional world of the artist through his own inner experience, and that of the scientist through contact with his father. During the war years his experience made it possible for him to gain an understanding of many other types of character. He says that he has never met an uninteresting person, nor has he ever been bored by one, for everyone he meets is a subject for study.

Mr. Ludwig's biographical method is very unlike that of the research historian. In each of his studies he has written of one whose portrait has for years been familiar to him. He compared available photographs and portraits before he so much as opened a document pertaining to the character. He then read until he happened upon an anecdote or letter, in itself a mere nothing, but which became significant when in Ludwig's mind it fused itself with the man's features. Thus through the union of the symbolic scene with the picture, the character became clear to the author. The entire biography was then built around several of these symbolic scenes.

Ludwig introduces to his readers the inner man: his reactions, decisions, hopes, disappointments, and obstacles. He does not try to discover fresh sources, but from the old sources he attempts to create a new and vitalized character. He portrays the figure vividly against a subdued and indistinct background. In contrast to the biographer of the older school Ludwig is little concerned with the history of the period. He feels that if such details were introduced they would detract from the clearness of the central figure whose portrayal is the sole subject.

Ludwig believes that his portraits should be truthful, and says that he never includes materials, other than soliloquies, which

⁴Emil Ludwig, "Biography in an Author's Laboratory," *The New York Times*, (October 11, 1931), Sec. V, p. 6.

⁵Emil Ludwig, *Genius and Character*, 3.

have not been found in the sources. He evidently expects his readers to have confidence in his veracity and workmanship, for he never documents his works in any way. He omits all dates from the body of biographies, and relegates them to an appendix.⁶

The first biography written by Ludwig was *Goethe: The History of a Man*. It is a dramatic study of the man himself. He takes as his theme the duality of Goethe's nature. The author emphasizes the perpetual conflict between Goethe's genius and his "daemon," a word which Goethe applied to himself and described as that element which was "not divine, for it showed in unreason; not human, for it had no understanding; not devilish, for it was beneficent; not angelic, for it could take pleasure in the pain of others." Ludwig's work has been criticized for his overemphasis of this phase of Goethe's character. Not only does the continual use of the theme produce the impression that Goethe was in constant chaos, but it also grows monotonous to the reader.⁷

Ludwig's lack of ability as a finished literary critic is revealed in this study in that the frequent selections quoted from Goethe's work are not always well chosen.⁸ The translation of the poetry has been poorly done, though the rest of the volume may be considered well rendered if the reader does not object to such modern expressions as "hot air" and "buck up."⁹

Apparently Ludwig was familiar with the mass of material available on Goethe, and used it accurately except that the chronology is somewhat mixed, and in dealing with Goethe's love affairs he has gone beyond the facts.¹⁰ The style throughout is lively and fresh, and at times even brilliant.¹¹

In *Genius and Character*, as in *Goethe*, Emil Ludwig sought to reveal the personality of his subjects rather than to show their place in history.¹² The book consists of eighteen sketches of

⁶Emil Ludwig, "Biography in an Author's Laboratory," *The New York Times*, (October 11, 1931) Sec. V, pp. 6-7.

⁷G. Lowes Dickinson, "Goethe Again," *The Nation and the Athenaeum*, XLIV, (October 27, 1928), 146.

⁸Mary M. Colum, "First of the Moderns," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, V, (January 5, 1929), 565.

⁹Anonymous, "Briefer Mention," *The Dial*, LXXXV, (September, 1930), 443.

¹⁰G. Lowes Dickinson, *loc. cit.*, 146.

¹¹Harry Salpeter, "More Biography," *The Outlook*, CL, (October 3, 1928), 914.

¹²Arthur W. Colton, "Portraits," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, IV, (December 10, 1929), 422.

famous persons. Although some of the characters are unconvincing, the portraits of the German subjects are excellent, especially those of Frederick the Great, Baron von Stein, and Bismarck. If the portraits of some of the well-known characters seem a bit distorted, it may be because they have been considered from odd points of view. The book is both entertaining and enlightening.¹³

Three Titians was written later than *Genius and Character*, but is similar to it in that it deals briefly with several subjects. It is an interpretation of the characters of Michelangelo, Rembrandt, and Beethoven. These portraits are somewhat distorted,¹⁴ and Ludwig's "Sunday-supplement" style seems hardly suitable for the portrayal of these artists.¹⁵

Emil Ludwig, in his *Napoleon*, has shown some of his finest literary work, yet at the same time, has disclosed a number of the flaws which are the most characteristic of his historical writings. The biography is an impressionistic and emotionalized study of Napoleon which reveals to the reader the inside as well as the outside of the man.¹⁶ Dates, historical events, and battles were kept in the background that the man Napoleon might stand out the more clearly.¹⁷ Ludwig's style in this work is, as usual, fascinating. The book is enlivened by the use of the historical present throughout, and by the copious use of the supposed words of Napoleon himself.¹⁸

There are, however, a number of serious faults in the work. Ludwig, of course, gives no references or bibliography. But it is clear to those who have made a detailed study of *Napoleon* that some of the anecdotes given were not derived from trustworthy authorities. Furthermore, Ludwig's use of the method, once used by Thucydides, of imagining what Napoleon probably said, and putting these soliloquies into the mouth of the hero is open to

¹³Rachel A. Taylor, "Some Sparkling Character Sketches," *The Spectator*, CXXXIX, (November 26, 1927), 931.

¹⁴Olga Katzin, "Three Titians," *The Bookman*, LXXII, (December, 1930), 442.

¹⁵Frances L. Robbins, "The Week's Reading," *The Outlook and Independent*, CLVI, (October 15, 1930), 268.

¹⁶C. Hartley Grattan, "Two Men of Power," *The Bookman*, LXV, (March, 1927), 82.

¹⁷Joseph Collins, "Biography," *New York Evening Post Literary Review*, VII, (February 26, 1927), 5.

¹⁸Erik Achorn, "Napoleon," *The American Historical Review*, XXXII, (July, 1927), 860.

criticism. Ludwig evidently expects the reader to believe that he knows what was going on in Napoleon's mind.¹⁹ Errors of fact, contradictions, inaccurate dates, and half-statements which convey an incorrect impression are to be found.²⁰

Clearly, Ludwig's purpose was to portray the inner man rather than the times in which Napoleon lived. He regarded such facts as the description of Napoleon's battles and the coalitions of the European states as irrelevant,²¹ and the petty details of Napoleon's amours were considered more significant than his career as a military commander. Although Mr. Ludwig chose those facts which he believed were most revealing concerning the character of the man himself, it is doubtful whether the serious historical student will be in sympathy with this choice. It is true that Emil Ludwig's biography is the first to give such a complete and detailed view of Napoleon as a man. It is good literature, but it is hardly good history.²²

Emil Ludwig's studies of the two powerful German figures, Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II, possess, though to a less degree than his *Napoleon*, those faults in historical accuracy which are typical of Ludwig's work. These flaws may well be overlooked by the reader who appreciates the human interest of the subject matter, the altogether readable style, and the masterful psychological treatment of the characters.

In *Bismarck, the Story of a Fighter*, Mr. Ludwig has described the gradual development of Bismarck's psychology and has shown its effect upon his statesmanship. Bismarck is depicted as one in whom pride and ambition were irreconcilable enemies in perpetual conflict with the inner man. It is this struggle which is the central theme of the biography. Ludwig has been a sympathetic interpreter, yet has not minimized the faults of his subject. The portrait has been drawn with remarkable impartiality.²³

¹⁹Walter Hayward, "An Impressionist Portrait," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, II, (March 12, 1927), 642.

²⁰Erick Achorn, *loc. cit.*, 860-861.

²¹Emil Ludwig, *Napoleon*, 679-680.

²²Walter Hayward, *loc. cit.*; Anonymous, "Our Own Book Shelf," *The Living Age*, CCCXXXII, (February 15, 1929), 372.

²³Leonard Woolf, "Two Professionals and an Amateur," *The Nation and Athenaeum*, XLII, (November 5, 1927), 187; Keith Hutchinson, "The Psychology of Ambition," *The Bookman*, LXVI, (December, 1927), 462-464.

Wilhelm Hohenzollern, the Last of the Kaisers, was written with an even clearer psychological approach than was *Bismarck*. Wilhelm II has been depicted as one whose vanity, bluster, and desire for power were defense mechanisms resulting from his sense of inferiority that had originated in the possession of a withered arm.²⁴ It is a most unflattering portrait of the ex-Kaiser. The accuracy of the interpretation of this character is by no means agreed upon by critics of Ludwig's work. Some²⁵ praise the book in spite of Ludwig's emphasis upon the withered arm and depiction of the Kaiser as almost unbalanced, while others²⁶ believe that this interpretation distorts the whole work. Be that as it may, the book is intensely interesting, and the portraits of minor characters as well as of Wilhelm II are distinctly drawn.²⁷

Clearly inferior to his other work is Mr. Ludwig's *The Son of Man*. He has attempted to avoid all theological discussion, and has dealt with "Jesus" as a man, never once mentioning "Christ."²⁸ The author was handicapped by the lack of available documents upon the subject. In previous biographies he had let his characters do the talking, but Jesus left no writings of his own.²⁹ Thus many of Ludwig's chapters are little more than summaries of the gospels.³⁰ He has tried to fit together the facts concerning the life of Jesus from the accounts given in Mark and Matthew with occasional dependence upon Luke and John. In so doing he has shown that he has not consulted modern studies concerning the origin and interrelation of these sources as a discriminating critic would certainly have done. Chronological and geographical

²⁴Harry Salpeter, "Ludwig; the Story of a Writer," *The Outlook*, CXLVIII, (February 29, 1928), 352.

²⁵Robert Littel, "The Kaiser," *The New Republic*, L., (April 6, 1927), 201; A.W.G. Randall, "Bismarck the Man," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, IV, (November 26, 1927), 341.

²⁶Anonymous, "Wilhelm Hohenzollern," *The Dial*, LXXXIII, (October, 1927), 356; C. Hartley Grattan, *loc. cit.*, 82; Stephen Gwynn, "The Dynast," *The Spectator*, CXXXVII, (October 30, 1926), 763.

²⁷Robert Littell, *loc. cit.*, 202.

²⁸Emil Ludwig, *Son of Man*, xii.

²⁹T. S. Matthews, "Books of General Interest," *The Bookman*, LXIII, (September, 1928), 92.

³⁰William Seagle, "Jesus for the Rationalist," *The Nation*, CXXVII, (October 3, 1928), 321.

blunders occur throughout the work,³¹ and it is, on the whole, superficial and unconvincing.³²

A slightly better piece of work was done by Ludwig in his *Lincoln*. The author clearly perceived the difficulties which beset a foreigner in attempting to write such a study. His purpose was, through use of the old and familiar sources, to present Abraham Lincoln in the manner of the new biography.³³ In so far as he was able to do so he avoided dealing with the political background or the military situation during the Civil War, and attempted simply to present a portrait of Lincoln. Yet many inaccuracies occur, and his interpretation of Lincoln as a perfect hero is of doubtful value. Even the most severe critics of the biography admit that the account is thoroughly entertaining and will be read to the last page with interest.³⁴ It is of historical value only to those who are just beginning a study of Lincoln, and to those European readers whose interest in American biography may be stimulated by it.³⁵

Ludwig's latest work is the biography of Heinrich Schliemann, who excavated the city which he believed was Troy. Mr. Ludwig had access to the mass of documents left by Schliemann, and, although he does not pretend to have made an exhaustive study of these sources, has derived the material for the biography from them.³⁶ The book is written in Ludwig's usual fascinating manner, and is a sympathetic treatment of the subject. Since Ludwig is the first biographer of Schliemann, the accuracy of the book can not well be questioned until another has had access to the same sources.³⁷

Strachey, Maurois, and Ludwig are without question the chief exponents of the new biography. Included in that school, how-

³¹B. W. Bacon, "Ludwig's Story of Jesus," *The New Republic*, LV, (July 18, 1928), 230.

³²Amos N. Wilder, "Ludwig Fails," *The Outlook*, CXLIX, (July 25, 1928), 514.

³³Emil Ludwig, *Lincoln*, vii-viii.

³⁴Allen W. Porterfield, "The Emancipation of Lincoln," *The Outlook and Independent*, CLIV, (February 19, 1930), 308; Allen Tate, "Lincoln and his Fate," *The Nation*, CXXX, (February 12, 1930), 185.

³⁵Allan Nevins, "Mr. Ludwig Looks at Lincoln," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, VI, (February 15, 1930), 731.

³⁶Emil Ludwig, *Schliemann*, ix.

³⁷W. T. Hill, "The Man Who Believed in Homer," *The Saturday Review*, LII, (July 4, 1931), 26.

ever, are numerous other writers, the most outstanding of whom are Philip Guedalla, Harold Nicholson, and Gamaliel Bradford.

Philip Guedalla, an Englishman, graduated from Oxford and then entered upon a legal career. After having written six historical works, in 1923 he retired from law and turned exclusively to writing. Since that time he has written one or two volumes a year, including *Masters and Men*, *A Gallery*, *A Council of Industry*, *Napoleon and Palestine*, *Independence Day*, *Fathers of the Revolution*, *Conquistador*, *Palmerston*, *Gladstone and Palmerston*, *Bonnet and Shawl*, *The Missing Muse*, and *Wellington*.³⁸ An appreciation of Mr. Guedalla's literary charm as well as an understanding of his historical weaknesses may best be gained by a survey of several of his most important works.

Two books of sketches, *Fathers of the Revolution* and *Bonnet and Shawl*, are well known. The former consists of graphic descriptions of some thirteen Englishmen, Americans, and Frenchmen who were closely identified with the American Revolution. These portraits are impressionistic and are shaded to emphasize the features which appealed to their author. The Englishmen are especially well done.³⁹ In *Bonnet and Shawl*, Philip Guedalla has portrayed the wives of six eminent Victorians and three other women who are creations of his fancy. The book is highly entertaining and humorous. Guedalla does, however, keep his readers in that doubtful region which is neither that of true biography nor of fantasy. He is too much of a historian to depart entirely from the facts, yet not enough of a historian to strictly adhere to them. As one critic has said, "He should acquire more conscience or less."⁴⁰

In his life of Palmerston, Philip Guedalla has done a more substantial piece of work. He had access to hitherto unpublished material which he used admirably, although he did not encumber the volume with exact references.⁴¹ The reader is led to understand the man himself, though he does not learn much concerning his

³⁸Dilly Tante, ed., *Living Authors*, 165.

³⁹Claude G. Bowers, "A Glittering Book," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, II, (June 26, 1926), 883.

⁴⁰Anonymous, "Victorian Wives," *The Saturday Review*, CXLVI, (September 29, 1928), 393.

⁴¹Ernest Boyd, "Readers and Writers," *The Independent*, CXVIII, (February 19, 1927), 218; E. Wingfield, Stratford, "The Duke," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, VIII, (December 5, 1931), 341.

principles and policies.⁴² After the publication of this volume, Mr. Guedalla edited the Palmerston Papers under the title of *Gladstone and Palmerston*. In so doing he adhered to a belief which he has always held, namely, that the documents pertaining to a life should never be incorporated in the biography, but should be published separately.⁴³

In 1931, Philip Guedalla's *Wellington* appeared. It would be an excellent biography of the Duke had he not been a soldier. Mr. Guedalla gives as little emphasis to the military aspect as he can well do. In attempting to make the explanations as simple as possible, he shows that he does not sense the whole military situation and makes some distinct mistakes in accuracy. Concerning the forty years of Wellington's life after Waterloo, Guedalla gives a gossipy and entertaining account, and at the same time, shows that he is well informed. He has given references which are indicated by small figures in the margin of the text and which appear at the end of the book.⁴⁴ Mr. Guedalla has the ability to select that which is of human interest, and possesses a graceful and amusing, though somewhat flippant, style.⁴⁵

Harold Nicolson, like Guedalla, is an Englishman and an Oxford graduate. In 1910 he entered the British diplomatic service, and he later served on the British delegation of the peace conference. In 1921 his first book, *Paul Verlaine*, was published. Since that time Mr. Nicolson has written a number of biographies: *Tennyson*, *Byron*, *the Last Journey*, *Swinburne*, *Some People*, and *Portrait of a Diplomatist*.⁴⁶

Not all of these works are examples of the new biography. *Paul Verlaine* is so thoroughly documented and carefully constructed that another biography on this subject would be superfluous.⁴⁷ *Swinburne* is not an exhaustive account, but is extremely well done.⁴⁸ In his *Portrait of a Diplomatist* Mr. Nicolson gives an

⁴²George F. Bowerman, "The New Biography, Part II," *The Wilson Bulletin*, IV, (December, 1929), 156.

⁴³Philip Guedalla, *Gladstone and Palmerston*, 16-17.

⁴⁴George Libare, "Guedallington," *The New Republic*, LXIX, (January 6, 1932), 222; E. Wingfield Stratford, *loc. cit.*, 342.

⁴⁵Anonymous, "Victorian Wives," *The Saturday Review*, CXLVI, (September 9, 1928), 393.

⁴⁶Dilly Tante, *op. cit.*, 297-298.

⁴⁷Anonymous, "Pauvre Lelian," *The New Statesman*, XVI, (March 9, 1921), 710.

⁴⁸William Benet, "On Swinburne," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, II, (May 22, 1926), 801.

account of the life of his father, Lord Carnock. He has written with remarkable impartiality, skillfully showing the opposition between the view of the professional diplomat and the ministerial political view of foreign affairs. The book is artistic in form, yet solid in content.⁴⁹

More closely resembling the new biography is Mr. Nicolson's work on Tennyson and Byron. *Tennyson: Aspects of His Life, Character and Poetry* is an interpretation of the character of the poet as one in which fear was dominant—fear of death, sex, and God. In order to sublimate his terrors he enunciated the beliefs which he wished he might feel. In his *Byron, the Last Journey*, Nicolson has used the device so frequently employed by the new biographer, namely, that of interpreting the subject's thoughts. He has treated the last phase of Byron's life in such a way as to give a complete impression of his character. The book is a literary "close-up" in which Byron's features are magnified but not distorted.⁵⁰ Harold Nicolson's *Some People* is a third book which may well be classed with the new biography. It is not, however, pure biography, nor is it pure fiction. It is a collection of nine portraits of persons whom the author has known, though there is no pretension of confining the sketches to absolute fact. Nicolson's purpose was merely to give the reader a vivid portrayal of various types of people, and this he has succeeded in doing in an admirable way.⁵¹

The outstanding American representative of the new biographical school is Gamaliel Bradford. Unlike the other members of the group he does not call himself a portraitist, but rather a "psychographer."

The great object of biography (wrote Mr. Bradford) must always be the portrayal of character, the probing and the revelation of the subtle mystery and secret personality, which always teases us and eludes us just when it seems most firmly within our grasp.⁵²

⁴⁹S. B. Fay, "We Old Diplomats," *The New Republic*, LXIV, (October 1, 1930), 183-184; J. A. Spender, "Sir Arthur Nicolson and the Old Diplomacy," *The Nation and Athenaeum*, XLVII, (October 1, 1930), 183-184.

⁵⁰George F. Bowerman, *loc. cit.*, 155; J. St. Loe Strackey, "A Byron 'Close-Up,'" *The Spectator*, CXXXII, (March 15, 1924), 427.

⁵¹Anonymous, "Some People," *The Independent*, CXIX, (September 24, 1927), 313; Raymond Mortimer, "Some People," *The Dial*, LXXXIII, (October, 1927), 347.

⁵²Gamaliel Bradford, "The Art of Biography," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, I, (May 23, 1925), 769.

Out of the action which constitutes a man's whole life, Bradford has sought to record only that which is so essential and characteristic that it is indispensable to the revelation of the subject's soul. His sketches are an analysis of the inner motives and character of his subjects, and leave the reader with a distinct impression of the real personality.⁵³

In all, Gamaliel Bradford has written some twenty volumes, most of which are biographical. Among those works which consist of a collection of portraits are *Confederate Portraits*, *Union Portraits*, *Portraits of American Women*, *Damaged Souls*, *Bare Souls*, *Wives*, *Daughters of Eve*, and *The Quick and the Dead*. His longer biographies are *Lee, the American*, *The Soul of Samuel Pepys*, *Darwin*, and *D. L. Moody, A Worker in Souls*. His shorter sketches are especially brilliant. They are penetrating, analytical, and impartial studies which are, at the same time, enjoyable and appealing.⁵⁴

It is little wonder that the new biography has become extremely popular, for, in a thoroughly entertaining style, it emphasizes those phases of the subject's life which hold the greatest human appeal. It proves more attractive to the average reader than the more substantial but less animated biography of the past, yet the new is frequently dependent upon the old. As Emil Ludwig has said:

The portraitist reworks the material supplied by the purely scientific biographer and is always indebted to him. With a kind of naive cynicism, he appropriates the scientist's laboriously collated facts for purposes of his own: an artist who ransacks the flower beds and leaves a pillaged garden behind for the grumbling caretaker, while he himself goes off with a superb bouquet gleaming in his arms.⁵⁵

The old documentary biography has been compared to a plain potato, well cooked, full of food, needing the activity of the eater to digest it. The new biography is more like a Saratoga potato chip, seasoned, made extremely palatable, and easily digested.

⁵³George F. Bowerman, *loc. cit.*, 157.

⁵⁴Francis L. Robbins, "Portraits of Women," *The Outlook and Independent*, CLIV, (February 12, 1930), 266.

⁵⁵Emil Ludwig, *Genius and Character*, 4-5.

NEW ECONOMIC INTERNATIONALISM

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Negotiations at the London Economic Conference indicate clearly the difficulties of international coöperation. A casual observer is likely to conclude that nations are unreasonably recalcitrant when the world's fate seems to hang in the balance. An analysis, however, of recent changes in the trade and finance relations of nations reveals many conflicting tendencies which limit international coöperation as a solution for tariff and currency problems.

I. ACCELERATION OF INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIALISM

One of the most important of the new variants, the acceleration of international industrialism, is partly the cumulative product of the industrial revolution and partly the result of World War dislocations in international trade. Its description involves an account of the trade relations of Great Britain with the rest of the world.

For almost a century Great Britain was the leading international trader of the world. Her exports per capita before the World War were more than double those of the United States. Great Britain's supremacy was based on a textile and metal manufacturing monopoly, buttressed by excellent coal and iron resources—a monopoly bequeathed by the industrial revolution. Because of several favorable factors, the industrial revolution began in England during the last half of the eighteenth century with the introduction of a few mechanical devices in the textile industry. The new technique spread slowly to other countries, first to the United States and France during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and later to Germany during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At the close of the nineteenth century it had taken effect in all the leading countries of the world, and the British trade monopoly weakened.¹

British industry encountered increasing competition in the markets of the world in the decade prior to the World War. Unless

¹G. D. H. Cole, *British Trade and Industry* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1932), pp. 100-108.

some immediate shift in production from the older textile and heavy metal trades to the newer chemical, automotive, and electrical industries occurred, reduced exports and production loomed ahead. Since Great Britain occupied a dominant position in international trade, a gradual adjustment was important to all industrialized countries. But the tempo and structure of modern industry made dislocation inevitable.

The industrial revolution, once dispersed to the far corners of the globe, advanced with a quickened pace. Improved transportation and communication facilities enabled many countries to contribute to and to share in the accumulating body of technical knowledge. Perfection of semi-automatic machines and new sources of power such as oil engines and hydro-electric developments, permitted even industrially backward countries to embark upon industrial careers. Lack of special skills and of coal were no longer insurmountable handicaps to industrialization. British industry reacted slowly to these rapid changes, partly because of its traditional success in textiles and metals, and partly because of its huge fixed investments in these industries.² Only the continued pressure of competition, price declines, and loss of markets could force a realignment of British industry. For a time at least British industries profited more by the operation of old plants than by sacrificing at once their experience and capital equipment in the establishment of new industries. The delayed transition, nevertheless, entailed hardships on British industry as well as on competing industries abroad.

The World War and its aftermath undoubtedly accentuated the difficulties of readjustment. British industry, disorganized by war production, lost markets abroad and was unable to make technical improvements at home. New industries sprang up in countries which were unable to buy British goods, or purchases were made from Britain's chief competitors, the United States

²André Siegfried, *England's Crisis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931), pp. 20-32. Siegfried's analysis of the difficulties which confront British industry squares fairly well with the analysis of most critics. A few clever thrusts at certain British foibles are entertaining, but non-essential. His charge, however, that a major difficulty is the attempt of England to live beyond its means (*i.e.*, maintain high wages and social services as compared with continental countries, pp. 85-92) neglects entirely the determinants of wage levels and confuses symptoms with causes. His attitude is an excellent example of the differences in national outlook which exist among different groups.

and Japan. Post-war currency and labor troubles aggravated the situation. Economic strains accumulated which could have been more easily disposed of in piecemeal fashion.³ Although war conditions encouraged industrialization in many countries, the lessened importance of coal, and increased use of semi-automatic machines, the widespread dissemination of technical information, the immobility of the agents of production in Great Britain, were factors potent enough to disturb even a peaceful reorganization of industry. The chief significance of this situation, as indicated more fully later, is that it marks the development of greater economic self-sufficiency among nations.

II. DECENTRALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Another significant new variant in the economic relations of nations, namely, the decentralization of international finance, is closely related to the change in Britain's international trade position and is likewise affected by the World War. Prior to 1913 Europe, and particularly England, was the world's banker.⁴ London possessed the only international money market and the Bank of England was the guardian of the gold standard. Today the United States is a leading creditor country. Not counting war debts, the long-term loans of its investors total (end of 1930) about 15½ billion dollars as compared to Britain's 18 billion dollars.⁵ In 1913 the United States was a net debtor nation on private long-term account to the extent of some 3 billion dollars. In approximately fifteen years American foreign investments attained a volume almost equal to a century of growth in British foreign investments. In 1913 about 23 per cent of the world's monetary stock of gold was owned by American financial institutions, 14½ per cent by French institutions, and 10 per cent by British institutions. Today approximately 36 per cent of the world's monetary stock of gold is American, 26 per cent French, and 5 per cent British.⁶ Great Britain abandoned the gold stand-

³Henry Clay, *The Post-War Unemployment Problem* (London: Macmillan, 1929), p. 87.

⁴Herbert Feis, *Europe the World's Banker, 1870-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), pp. 3-32.

⁵Paul D. Dickens, *A New Estimate of American Investments Abroad* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931).

⁶James Harvey Rogers, *America Weighs Her Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), p. 211. Source for 1913 data; *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, January, 1933. Source for 1932 data.

ard on September 21, 1931. Half the world followed her example. Until last spring the United States and France were the chief exponents of the gold standard. Since then the United States has suspended gold payments, and now even France seems about to be obliged to follow the flight from gold. New York and Paris have joined London as international money markets.

Two questions arise regarding this brief statement of the decentralization of international finance; first, what factors precipitated so suddenly the change, and secondly, what is the significance of the change for the economic relations of nations? In answer to the first question, the World War and its financial liquidation must be assigned a predominant part. Without the war the rate of growth in British foreign investments would have decreased because of the decline in Britain's international trade position. Without the war, the United States because of her increase in trade would probably have developed into a net creditor nation during the second quarter of the twentieth century and New York would have become an international money market. But the magnitude and rapidity of the change in the international financial position of nations is explained only in terms of war sales, war indemnities, war loans, post-war tariffs, and post-war finance policy.

The United States on private account assumed a creditor position early in the war when vast quantities of supplies were sold to the allies. These purchases were at first financed partly by gold exports and partly through an exchange by the allied governments of their bonds for foreign securities held by their citizens which were then transferred to United States bankers for credits. During the early years of the war gold flowed to the United States. Large quantities of American securities formerly owned abroad were repatriated. Later the United States government from the proceeds of the Liberty loans established credits for foreign accounts with American bankers which represented direct loans to the allied governments. United States government loans to the allies finally reached a total of approximately $10\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars. Since the United States maintained high tariffs in the post-war period, the repayment of the war loans to the United States government at the rate of about 250 million dollars a year tended to promote further gold shipments to the United States. With lower

tariffs more of the payment could have been transacted through an increased sale of goods to Americans.⁷

While war sales, repayment of war loans, and post-war tariffs made substantial contributions to the rapid transformation of the gold and investment position of the United States, the post-war trade and capital situation should not be neglected. As a result of the war and the peace treaty, several European countries experienced a drastic capital shortage—for capital equipment, for working capital, for currency stabilization purposes. In particular the payment of reparations by Germany required (*i.e.*, this was not a case of economic demand but political necessity) funds which the savings of the German people could not immediately satisfy. In the period 1924–29 public and private organizations in Germany borrowed approximately five billion dollars. Opportunities existed for the sale of commodities to meet current production and consumption needs abroad and for the provision of loans to finance these transactions and other projects. The United States was in a most advantageous position to utilize the opportunity. Production capacity was large as a result of the war sales and loan funds were abundant. More than half of the German loans were supplied by investors in the United States. Although purchasing power abroad was weak largely because of war conditions and to a much lesser extent because sales to the United States were hindered by high tariffs, the United States maintained large export sales year after year by means of loans—a kind of international installment selling.

As regards the French gold and investment position after the war, a special explanation is needed. First of all, France's share of German reparations exceeded her war debt payments to the United States and Great Britain. Since France maintained high tariffs, this credit balance increased her supply of gold and her lending power. Aside from reparations, the French trade balance tended until recently to be favorable, and encouraged gold imports. The continued favorableness of the trade balance when gold stocks were accumulating was fostered by high tariffs and a rigid banking system.⁸ In the United States gold inflow liberalized discount policy and increased prices. Although prices were high, exports were assisted by loans abroad. In France on the

⁷Rogers, *op. cit.*, 102–3.

⁸R. G. Hawtrey, *The Art of Central Banking* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932), pp. 10–38.

contrary gold inflow had very little effect on prices since the Bank of France is not permitted to engage in open market transactions and since its discount rate has little influence on the undeveloped French acceptance market. French exports, therefore, continued largely because of low prices and not because of loans abroad.

The potency of the French financial position displayed in recent years, especially in Europe, was augmented by other circumstances. Since part of the reserves of the French banks after the war could be legally held in the form of bills of exchange on gold standard countries, the balances purchased from French investors who had transferred funds abroad during the currency depreciation were allowed to accumulate. The accumulation was increased further by the fact that any investment in foreign securities was discouraged until recently by special taxes on the listing of foreign securities on the Paris Bourse, on the transfer of foreign securities, and on the income received by French investors from foreign securities. Aside from taxes, French investors were reluctant to make long-term loans because of heavy losses in Russian bonds and other securities. Even before the war the bulk of French foreign investments were in government bonds rather than in long-term commercial loans. As a result of these varied factors, the Bank of France came into possession of the large gold stock mentioned previously, a substantial portion of which was held abroad as short-term credits. Long-term loans were made but they were mainly French government loans to European governments in return for political support. Several times the withdrawal of French short-term credits from certain money markets, when economic conditions were uncertain and political changes were unfavorable to French political policy, created the impression that the French gold and investment position was used to support French political aims. From a gold and investment point of view, the size, liquidity, and possible political manipulation of French loan funds, placed France alongside Great Britain and the United States and established Paris as an important international money market.

What is the significance of the above decentralizing changes in international finance? It signifies the pressing need for increased coöperation among nations on tariff policy, on foreign investments, on war loans and indemnities, and on finance policy. Many difficulties were encountered in the operation of the gold standard before the war when the Bank of England dominated international

finance through the world money market in London. But more difficulties appear when three prominent money centers fail to coördinate their activities. For example, the lower discount policy maintained by the Federal Reserve banks in 1926 and 1927 assisted American business as well as eased the pressure on British gold exports. Both national and international interests were satisfied. The expansion of business, however, in the United States encouraged stock market speculation and attracted funds from abroad even when money rates were low. Later when discount rates were raised to discourage domestic stock market speculation, they stimulated further short-term credit imports, accentuated domestic speculation, and increased the difficulties of the Bank of England. These difficulties have scarcely been diminished by American suspension of gold payments. Control of credit is now distinctly an international problem.

Another illustration of the need of coöperation in international finance under the present decentralized conditions is found in the widespread practice of European banks in using bills of exchange on gold standard countries as part of their legal reserves or as protection to gold stocks. If only one world money market existed, the central bank of that country could approximately ascertain the amount of such short-term credits and could safeguard its credit position by means of ample gold reserves, credit controls, and foreign loans. When three international money markets exist as at present, the central banks of those countries become more vulnerable. Credits shift rapidly from one market to another and their amount is largely unknown. Credit control by any one central bank is ineffective.⁹ Loans from another market for protection in an emergency are delayed and uncertain. Political manipulation is possible. Only super-abundant gold reserves afford adequate security. With the present world monetary gold stock of 12 billion dollars, however, three international money markets cannot maintain such ample reserves. There is no gold shortage if present stocks are used coöperatively. Many observers of international affairs hope that the Bank for International Settlements will eventually constitute a medium of coöperation and coördination in international finance.

A third example of the chaos produced under a system of decentralized international finance, appears in the haphazard granting

⁹League of Nations, *Report of the Gold Delegation* (Geneva: 1932), pp. 13-15.

of long-term loans. If doubtful securities cannot be sold in one market they are peddled to another. International bankers compete too strenuously for commissions on loans and consider too lightly the risks of small investors. The long and bitter experience of British bankers and investors makes London a discriminating money market. French investors, as indicated above, are reluctant to assume the full responsibility of international lenders. French political aims frequently outweigh commercial gains. Investors in the United States, on the other hand, were willing to become international lenders, but they lacked experience. Post-war American loans abroad were extremely erratic and frequently ill-advised. Unwise loans to one country undermined confidence and checked loans to more deserving borrowers. The irregularity and caprice in the flow of American foreign loans disturbed severely international trade. To avoid vexatious political complications, to protect small investors, to assist worthy debtor countries, and to stabilize international business, there is imperative need for financial coöperation among nations.

III. INTENSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

The increasing intensity of the struggle among nations to protect their home markets and to penetrate foreign markets is in concomitancy with the rapid spread of industrialism and the decentralization of financial power. As nations industrialize, they exclude foreign manufactured products from their markets and seek to maintain and to extend their trade outlets abroad. Many competitors now clash in markets which a few decades ago were supplied from one or two sources. Industrialization and exploitation require capital; and rival money markets, as stated previously, frequently furnish loans that would not be forthcoming if only one existed, or if the main ones were more coöperative.

Other developments, however, augment greatly the keenness of contemporary international competition, namely, the creation of new sovereign states by the Versailles Treaty and the growth of large-scale production. As regards the first point, the most disturbing consequences appear in central Europe, where more than a half-dozen new states were established. Countries which formerly possessed a balanced economy of agriculture and manufacturing are now split into small states either predominantly agricultural or industrial. Each of these small economically dependent states is now attempting to foster through tariff legislation and

other trade restrictions the production which it lacks. Each wishes to export to the other, but few wish to import.

The growth of large-scale production during the last thirty years intensified competition among national groups. Large-scale production required expanding markets to absorb the output and increased the demand for raw materials. Unit costs of production in many industries can be lowered by enlarging the scale of operation. If the domestic market is not sufficient to absorb the output of large-scale plants, export sales are encouraged. Frequently, in order to encourage export sales and maintain capacity output, commodities are "dumped" abroad at prices lower than those at which they are sold in the home market. Since the overhead costs of large-scale industries bulk large in total costs and remain relatively fixed regardless of size of output, the lower export price is more than offset by the lower unit costs obtained from full plant utilization. Some measure of the severity of the competition which arises from the pressure of overhead costs on huge industrial concerns in various countries is indicated by the efforts to divide markets through the formation of international cartels and agreements.

Large-scale industrial developments in Russia may become in the near future an important contributing factor to the general intensification of international competition. Not only are the undertakings of great size which intensify competition as explained above, but also the state has a complete monopoly of foreign trade. Already some effects of the Russian trade monopoly have been observed in various countries. Since Russia was unable to secure sufficient loans to buy capital equipment for industrialization, domestic consumption was rationed and export sales were forced abroad by means of price cuts to obtain funds for the purchase of necessary equipment. Although many countries were alarmed by this type of Russian dumping, it was necessarily only temporary and limited in character. If Russian industrialization, however, succeeds as now planned, the government monopoly of foreign trade will place Russia in a strong competitive position—a position which will permit continuous and widespread dumping.¹⁰

Several important consequences ensue from the growing intensity of international competition. First of all, it indicates that the economic relations of nations are becoming more interconnected,

¹⁰Alvin H. Hansen, *Economic Stabilization in an Unbalanced World* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), pp. 113-120.

that economic conditions in one country are constantly affected by economic changes elsewhere, that economic adjustment in international trade and finance is a delicate mechanism which is easily upset. For example, competition among national groups tends to keep money wages in various countries on a level with the different degrees of productivity attained in each country. Any improvement in the technique of production in one country will enable its merchants to sell certain commodities at a lower price in world markets than other competitors. The value productivity of labor in that industry in the competing countries falls. Exports of the commodity from these countries decline, unemployment grows, and money wages are reduced until the new level of value productivity is reached. Exports of the commodity of the competing countries are then partially resumed while some labor is shifted into other industries where it is employed more advantageously.

On the other hand, if management in the competing countries is unable to improve the technique of production, if labor is immobile and well-organized to resist wage reductions, then serious dislocation follows. Unemployment assumes larger proportions and remains until a readjustment of wages is finally forced. The analysis applies to interest paid on loan funds. If industries in one country become too heavily loaded with high interest bearing debts, competition compels a liquidation which, if resisted and delayed, usually aggravates the difficulty. Increased competition, therefore, among nations creates a sensitive relationship which requires flexibility in national economic systems in order that satisfactory adjustments may be made to the constantly changing economic conditions of nations.

A second important consequence of the growing intensity of international competition appears in the form of varied measures employed by all nations to protect themselves against the economic changes necessitated by competition. Several decades ago only the newer industrial countries used high tariffs to protect their young industries against the competition of older industrial countries. For almost a century Great Britain was virtually a free trade country. Today the situation is quite different. Older industrial nations, such as Great Britain, find it expedient to prop up with tariffs industries which experience increasing difficulty in meeting international competition. Eventually production may be forced into other lines of industry, but the hope is nourished

that tariff protection will afford an opportunity to reorganize existing industry more effectively, or will permit a more gradual and orderly shift in production to other fields.¹¹ Countries, new or old industrially, now resort not only to high tariffs, but also to quota schemes, licensing systems, exchange controls, special prohibitions, sanitary measures, etc., in a desperate effort to insulate their economic systems from the disturbing influences of international competition. If all national economic systems were highly flexible, then international competition would quickly communicate economic changes from one to another without serious dislocation. The enactment of protective measures in one country disorganizes industry in other countries, multiplies the difficulties of economic adjustment among nations, and encourages additional protective measures. The family of nations cannot exist in a state of half protection and half free trade. The present choice is clearly for protection.

IV. NATIONALIZATION OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Since the industrial, financial, and competitive relations of nations during the past decade or two show diverse and profound changes, their influence on international economic policy is vital, but confusing. The relationship is definitely one of action and reaction. Changes in international trade and finance alter policy and changes in policy alter trade and finance. The immediate problem of policy involves chiefly an effective adjustment of national political aims to recent changes in international economic relations in order to avoid world chaos. A more remote problem of policy might include the application of an independently formulated policy to international economic relations in order to alter their basic character.

The dominant trend in international economic policy, as already indicated, is now toward high protectionism and extreme economic nationalism. How well or ill does this policy fit existing conditions in the economic relations of nations? At once there appear contradictions which invalidate any dogmatic answer. Many students of economic international relations, however, are prone to

¹¹Temporary tariff protection for declining industries may be advantageously combined with protection to new industries. For example, Great Britain may assist the textile and metal industries by means of preferential tariffs while new industries are being fostered by means of ordinary protective duties.

insist that the world is now interdependent economically to a degree which renders present policy completely out of joint with the times. They vividly picture a world economy in which political boundaries and nationalistic aims disrupt and retard world economic development. As the previous review of international economic changes indicates, there is some justification for the position. The spread of industrialism to remote portions of the earth increases the international exchange of raw materials, capital, equipment, and finished products. More important, however, is the decentralization of international finance which reveals the ramifications of economic activity among nations and stresses the need for international banking coöperation. Certain aspects of international competition, especially the problems created by the establishment of new states in central Europe, likewise support the thesis that the family of nations must consider itself an economic unit and no longer tolerate extreme nationalistic policies. Nevertheless an acceptance of this view as a complete analysis of international economic problems omits several contradictory factors which would partly vitiate immediate remedies based upon it.

The first contradiction emerges directly from the recent changes in international economic relations. Although the major trend may be in the direction of increasing economic interdependence among nations which may open new possibilities of world economic and political unity in the future, there are also important minor trends which assist nations in becoming more self-supporting economically and which encourage nationalistic policies. For instance, the dissemination of technical information, the perfection of semi-automatic machines, the migration of industries, the invention of synthetic products, and the development of new power resources augment economic self-sufficiency among nations and foster trade restrictions. In raw materials and semi-finished products, the economic dependence of some nations may be greatly increased by industrialization but the dependency is pushed back to the initial stages of production where supplies are frequently scattered, easily produced, and hence, usually available. To meet emergencies, moreover, there is the possibility (if the later stages of manufacturing have been developed) of accumulating stocks of raw materials and semi-finished products which would give temporary independence. Since wars tend to become briefer, the possibility of temporary independence becomes an important item in an explanation of the strenuous efforts made by modern nations

to utilize fully the new opportunities for greater economic self-sufficiency offered by industrial changes. To cite certain economic tendencies, however, as partial explanation of economic nationalism is not to justify the present excesses of that system.

Another tendency contradictory to the increasing economic interdependence of nations appears in the decentralization of international finance. Undoubtedly increasing interconnection is the main change in international finance, but decentralization also implies greater financial autonomy for at least a few nations. Two, and perhaps more, nations at the present time have sufficient financial resources to act independently in world finance. There is the additional possibility that certain groups of nations may obtain partial financial independence by the establishment of a coöperative banking and money system within the group which could then withstand the financial assaults of other nations.

The intensification of international competition discloses a third contradictory tendency. Increased competition among nations in trade and finance denotes greater interdependence but at the same time it also denotes greater sensitivity and instability. Other recent changes in the economic relations of nations discussed above contribute to this growing instability. Instability then provokes nationalistic control schemes to insulate countries from international economic changes. Complete economic interdependence among nations and highly flexible national economic systems may offer possibilities of maximum world production and consumption but they also offer many opportunities for maladjustment.

Objections may be entered here to the above contradictory trends for the reason that restrictive nationalistic measures applied to international trade and finance have been largely responsible for the initial appearance of contradictions. No denial is made of their major importance. But interaction is the rule. The point stressed, therefore, is that contemporary protectionism, national control schemes, and extreme nationalism is partly based on independent economic changes. There is no clear cut trend in the changing economic relations of nations.

Furthermore, to the extent that nationalism has developed economic self-sufficiency among nations, that self-sufficiency becomes a highly immobile factor in the solution of immediate problems. Vast investments made under tariff protection in various countries cannot be suddenly abolished without serious economic loss.

Only a gradual transition is feasible. Any policy to be effective now in the solution of contemporary international economic difficulties must accept extant protection and seek adjustment regardless of origin in the contradictory trends in the economic relations of nations.

What are the principal tenets, then, of an effective economic policy among nations? In the first place nations should be regarded as economic and cultural units as well as political units. Individuals live as members of national groups and the texture of living is intimately dependent upon national action. Some nations, for example, strive to improve the standard of living of their citizens by means of lavish educational expenditures, varied schemes of social insurance, toleration or encouragement in the dissemination of birth control information, severe restriction of immigration, stimulation of individual enterprise, etc. Other nations prefer quiescence rather than strenuousness in individual activity, quantity rather than quality in population, leisure rather than economic goods, and they frame national programs to achieve these aims.

Ways of living, methods of political organization, and philosophic outlook differ widely among national groups. There is no absolute standard for judgment by which national life can be condemned or commended. It is developmental, experimental, relative. On purely economic grounds nationalistic practices which failed to maximize national production and consumption, or which failed to promote national survival might be condemned. But some nations may be willing to have fewer commodities in order to subsidize artistic handicraft production, picturesque peasant agriculture, or ingenious mechanical skill; and some nations may be willing to risk disaster either from within or without in order to test doctrines which they hope may constitute a national contribution to world civilization.

Secondly, present nationalistic activities should be viewed as ordinary, legitimate relations among nations. Nations should tolerate nationalism in the same way as individuals tolerate individualism. Of course the excesses of nationalism should be deplored, but the main emphasis should be placed on the consequences of extreme nationalistic acts to the acting nations rather than the adverse effects on other countries. No longer, then, would a few naive nations nurture the hope that irritating acts

on their part would be overlooked by other amiable nations, or be smothered in a general crusade toward international coöperation. Before any nation indulged excessively in nationalism it could calculate as one cost the relentless retaliation by all injured nations. Domestic support, therefore, for a given foreign policy, (*e.g.*, high tariff protection) would be forthcoming only after a careful balancing of anticipated gains against definite losses. More attention would be focused on moderate protection, rather than free trade, as a cure for hyper-protectionism. In the midst of the present tariff orgy, retaliation and the demonstrated boomerang effects of tariffs, which mobilize domestic exporting industries on the side of tariff reduction at home, stand as the most hopeful factors for a more reasonable tariff future among nations.

A third tenet of an effective international economic policy would be the frank admission of bargaining as the only feasible method for settling conflicts of national economic interests. Allocation of natural resources among nations would rest on a bargaining basis rather than on any arbitrary scheme of distribution. As regards trade and tariffs, favors would be purchased with reciprocal favors. Many existing commercial treaties provide for the unconditional extension of favors won through mutual concessions between two countries to third parties not engaged in the negotiations. If such "most favored nation" treatment hinders bargaining, then effort should be devoted to facilitating the bargaining process rather than to maintaining a treaty system based on the "most favored nation" principle. Frequently nations have espoused the "most favored nation" principle in commercial treaty making only when their economic interests made its use advantageous. The bargaining approach minimizes the opportunity for nations to cloak their national designs behind a pious pretension of international coöperation.

Recognition of the bargaining principle, which is already responsible for many substantial achievements in international affairs, as the basic process for negotiation would avoid some stubborn obstacles which block general or concerted action among nations. One obstacle is the political equality of sovereign nations. The bargaining principle, however, has as a point of departure the differences in the economic position of nations instead of the political equality of sovereign states. Bargains among equals would be based on equal concessions, but bargains among unequals would reflect, as any business transaction reflects,

greater concessions by the weaker. Small countries would not necessarily be weak bargainers. Their economic position and the nature of the advantages offered other countries would determine their status.

The practice of bargaining not only would remove the obstacle of equal treatment for unequals from international relations, but also would overcome the great difficulties of concerted or general agreement among nations when diverse economic interests are involved. If, for example, general tariff reduction is proposed among nations, the inclusion of high tariff nations and low tariff nations, industrially advanced nations and industrially backward nations renders agreement very unlikely. Their economic interests are too diverse. Only a piecemeal method of bargaining between a few nations similarly situated economically is likely to be successful. From a bargaining point of view, the recent increases in tariffs, particularly by Great Britain, are a hopeful rather than a discouraging development in the economic relations of nations because, as stated above, it keenly reminds other nations of their tariff misdemeanors, and it also paves the way for a bargaining reduction of tariffs.

A fourth tenet of an effective international economic policy, and the last to be mentioned here, is the candid acknowledgment that international economic coöperation through such agencies as the Bank for International Settlement and the League of Nations is now and will probably remain in the near future largely of educational value. These educational possibilities are worthy of support. More extravagant claims of immediate positive achievement of international coöperation are likely to fail under existing conditions, to spread disillusionment, and consequently to react unfavorably upon the educational work of international organizations. An effective international economic policy today must bend rather than block national aims in order to obtain a speedy adjustment of pressing problems. Plans for a world super-state, or even for an extension of present international organizations may be urged as remote possibilities with educational benefit, but their advocacy as feasible programs for present application confuse and delay effective solutions. Eventually the approach through international organization, either by the dominance of one system such as communism, or the friendly coöperation of states, may cure the world's economic ills. A political federation of mankind, a planned world economy may in future centuries

bring security to a harassed earth. The transition stage, however, may be long and exceedingly rough. Dissimilar political units and diverse economic systems may persist in rivalry and competition through centuries. The highest type of world organization might prove to be a cellular one composed of dissimilar units; an organization which squeezed out ineffective units in the process of development. In the meantime an international economic policy as outlined above—a new type of economic internationalism which grapples with institutions and trends as they are and attempts to utilize their constructive potentialities—contains the greatest promise of immediate relief to a perplexed world.

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION IN TENNESSEE¹

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I. THE NEED FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION

The civil administrative code adopted in Tennessee in 1923 is apparently one of the most comprehensive plans now in actual operation within any state. Here, as in many cases of administrative reorganization, changes rest upon a statutory basis rather than upon a constitutional amendment. By 1923 the need for reorganization in Tennessee had become very pronounced. The state had for fifteen years prior incurred an annual deficit in its operating expenses which by 1921 amounted to more than \$2,200,000.² Such conditions caused reorganization and retrenchment to be the most important issues of the gubernatorial campaign of 1922, which resulted in the election of Governor Austin Peay.

Governor Peay proposed a plan which provided for the consolidation of the various state bureaus and agencies under a few heads, in this way eliminating a number of officeholders and at the same time bringing the state employees in groups under a responsible head. Similar moves had been made by the governors of some other states, as Governor Frank Lowden of Illinois and Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. In Virginia, Governor Harry F. Byrd was later to attempt to bring about like results, but in 1923 such proposals were novel in the South and it was only natural that they should arouse much opposition. To assist him in his much desired revolution in state government, Governor-elect Peay sought the help of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. Mr. A. E. Buck, an expert on governmental finances, came to Tennessee and spent much time advising the new governor.

Prior to the meeting of the legislature in January 1923, the governor had canvassed the members of each body with the result that they had promised him their support.³ His first mes-

¹The text of the code is found in Tennessee's Administrative Reorganization Act of 1923, House Bill No. 183, Chapter No. 7.

²A. E. Buck, *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments*, 4th ed., revised, p. 26.

³*Ibid.*, p. 26.

sage to the legislature, the Sixty-third General Assembly, was sent January 17, 1923. Herein the chief executive urged the prompt enactment into law of his campaign pledges of 1922. He informed the legislative body that there was a deficit in state accounts December 1, 1922, of \$2,586,596.67, that the state was running in arrears around a million dollars annually, and that it was burdened with an interest-bearing debt of \$15,623,000.⁴ To quote from Peay's message of January 17, 1923:

Our government is functioning through sixty-four organizations. There are thirty-seven boards, and twenty-seven departments. A number of these are collecting and disbursing state revenues. They work under independent control, and without coördination. There is much duplication of expense, and confusion of motion. There is no relationship between these agencies. The fact is that we now have an assortment of petty governments. It is impossible in making appropriations to foresee where the balance will be at the end of the fiscal period. Officials are only interested in their own departments, and are constantly striving for larger appropriations. These in consequence are voted without any concise, coördinated, and orderly understanding of the public needs. Thus, we have expanded beyond our bounds. It is imperative that this system be revised.⁵

The ills found in state administration in Tennessee before the passage of the Reorganization Act of 1923, were very similar to those existing in numerous other states at the time. The various state boards were not well articulated with each other and with other departments and agencies of state government. Appointment to membership on these boards varied⁶—when appointed by the governor the overlapping terms of such members hampered the control which the executive might otherwise have exercised over them. Again, the relations between different boards dealing with closely related services were not carefully worked out with the result that, in many instances, some matters were either inadequately regulated or permitted to go altogether devoid of supervision. Moreover, there was a growing feeling that the increased cost of state government was due to the increase in the

⁴T. H. Alexander, Austin Peay, p. 115.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁶For instance, members of the highway department were chosen by the Secretary of State, Comptroller and Treasurer, with consent of the governor. The Tax Commissioner and the members of the Board of Equalization were chosen by the Legislature. On the other hand, the warden of the main prison was appointed by the Governor.

number of state boards, the duplication of work, the cumbersome of governmental machinery, and the uneconomical method in which public functions were discharged. The governmental system of the state was decentralized; there could be no administrative supervision on the part of the governor—he was chief executive only in name. It was the realization of these facts and the felt need for more efficiency in state government that led Governor Peay to propose the abolition of useless boards and departments and the consolidation of them all into a more logical and unified system. The legislature being in sympathy with the governor's leadership, the administrative reorganization act was passed promptly and became effective February 1, 1923.⁷

II. STATUTORY REORGANIZATION ADOPTED

The act provided for the creation and establishment of the following administrative departments: finance and taxation, agriculture, highways and public works, education, institutions, public health, insurance and banking, and labor.⁸ The act further made provision for a chief executive officer for each of the administrative departments; this executive in each case was to be known as a commissioner and was to be appointed by the governor for a term to expire with the beginning of the term of the governor next elected, or whenever a successor should be appointed and qualified. Each commissioner was to hold office at the pleasure of the governor. He was given general supervision of his department and permitted to exercise such powers and perform such duties as the act vested in the department under his control. The officers of the various departments created by the act were placed under the supervision and control of the respective commissioner of their department.⁹ The only restrictions upon the department heads were that subordinate officers and employees appointed by the commissioners must have the approval of the governor and they were also made subject to the employment regulations as established by the Department of Finance and Taxation.¹⁰ The Department of Finance and Taxation thus was to become the pivot around which the newly organized government was to revolve. It

⁷Alexander, p. 26.

⁸Tennessee's Administrative Reorganization Act of 1923, p. 3.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 5.

became the governmental watch dog—checking the various departments as to expenditures and in some cases outlining their organization. The various statutory officers, boards, and bureaus of the state government were abolished and their functions consolidated in one of the departments created by the act. Only one statutory agency that might have been consolidated remains free—namely, the Railroad and Public Utilities Commission. The act provided that the commissioners should receive a yearly salary ranging between \$4,500 and \$5,000.¹¹ Division heads, subordinate officers and assistants whose salaries were not fixed by the act were to receive such compensation as should be stipulated by the commissioner of their department, but such compensation was to be fixed only upon the authority of the Department of Finance and Taxation and with the governor's approval.¹²

Under the new set-up the governor has been made responsible for the administration of state government in Tennessee, perhaps to a greater extent than is to be found in any other state at the present time. He has complete control over administration, with the exception of a limited amount that rests with a few other officials as provided for by the state constitution.¹³ Boards and bureaus have been practically relieved of their administrative work; departments of quasi-legislative functions and responsibility have been centralized, leaving no doubt as to the allocation of such. The act further provided:

That, with the approval of the Governor, the Commissioner of each Department shall have authority to consolidate any two or more of the officers created in his Department by the provision of this Act, or to reduce the number of, or create new Divisions therein.¹⁴

The Department of Finance and Taxation was given supervision over all expenditures and collections of the state government; a general purchasing agency was created and placed in this department, and an executive budget provided. All these were good steps in the right direction.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³The constitution at the present time provides that the Secretary of State, the State Comptroller and the State Treasurer shall be appointed by the joint vote of the General Assembly. It likewise requires that the Attorney General and Reporter for the State be appointed by the Judges of the Supreme Court.

¹⁴Tennessee's Administrative Reorganization Act of 1923, Sec. 57, p. 33.

A detailed outline of the present organization and the functions of the various departments is not deemed necessary here; however, the chart¹⁵ shown below gives the organization as provided for under the Reorganization Act of 1923.

III. THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE ACT TESTED

Governor Peay, speaking of the constitutionality of the proposed reorganization bill, said:

My own opinion in regard to the constitutionality of this bill has been fortified with the opinion of many able and distinguished lawyers to whom it has been submitted.¹⁶

The act, however, was soon to be tested in the courts. Shortly after it became effective members of the State Board of Equalization, the Highway Commission, Tax Commissioner, and the warden of the state prison were removed from their positions and for this reason sought an injunction to prevent the act from taking effect with reference to them. A temporary injunction was at first granted and a hearing held. On February 12, 1923, the chancellor handed down a decision in which the injunction was refused and the constitutionality of the Reorganization Act upheld.¹⁷ The case was then appealed to the State Supreme Court. Here it was again argued and the constitutionality of the act confirmed. Upon the general principle of a centralized executive the court said:

We should say, however, since in our opinion it (the Reorganization Act) deals alone with the duties and functions essentially executive, the centralization of powers does not offend the constitution. All these powers might have been conferred on the Governor individually, and he might have been directly charged with their execution had the Legislature deemed it feasible and so best to do.¹⁸

The act has given rise to other questions which the courts have been forced to decide from time to time; for instance on October 22, 1932, the supreme court of the state was required to pass upon the question whether the Comptroller of the Treasury or

¹⁵The chart is reproduced from A. E. Buck's *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments*, p. 27.

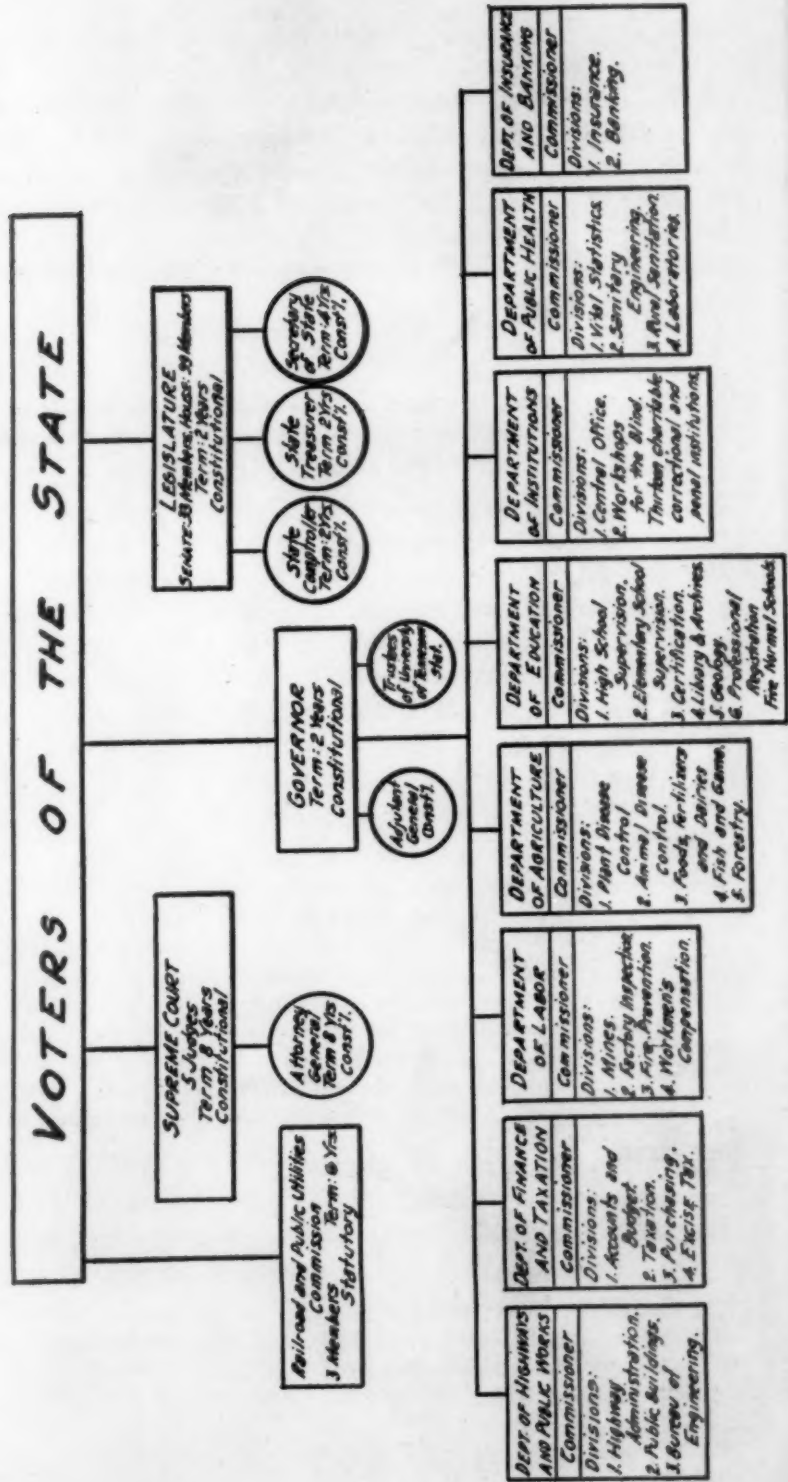
¹⁶Alexander, p. 119.

¹⁷Buck, pp. 28-29.

¹⁸*House v. Creveling*, 250 S.W. 357.

TENNESSEE

ORGANIZATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1923



the Commissioner of Finance was to assume control of the collection of the gasoline tax and the supervision of employees engaged in the administration of the gasoline tax laws.¹⁹

IV. EVALUATION OF THE ACT ATTEMPTED

The two main questions generally asked are: First, has the new mechanism of administration produced increased economy and efficiency? Second, has the movement for administrative reorganization brought better men into public service? An answer to either question is most difficult—there are too many variables entering into the equation. A statistical approach to the first becomes almost impossible because of inadequate financial records. After reorganization the reporting system is usually changed, therefore a comparison of the new system with the old is impeded. Furthermore, the lack of standardized reporting invalidates any comparison among states. And, in addition to those, there are other factors which cannot be lost sight of, among which are the constant expansion and contraction of state activities, the increase and decrease in salaries, the continuously changing value of the dollar, and finally, the human elements, as human ability which must always be taken into consideration. In the presence of such a number of variables can a definite conclusion be reached? To generalize in regard to evaluation is most dangerous.

Recent years have brought heavy demands from the people upon both the legislative and executive branches of state government. There has been a growing desire for modern types of highways, improved educational facilities carrying with them modern buildings and better paid teachers, better care of the unfortunate of the state who are wards in charitable institutions, more liberal pensions to war veterans, and improvement in the public health program in the prevention and control of diseases. To meet these requirements and demands at the hands of the people both state income and expenditures have been increased. Moreover, be it remembered that for a greater part of the period since 1923 our country universally has been on a spending spree—until the past three years the word economy had become almost a misnomer.

¹⁹*Taxation v. Wallace*, 53 S.W. (2d) 379.

Bearing the foregoing in mind it is rather interesting to note Governor Peay's comment after he had been in office for one term and the Reorganization Act had been in operation for nearly eighteen months. To quote:

It cannot be denied that our fiscal affairs are rapidly mending. The deficit on September 1, 1921, was \$1,604,942.24. On September 1, 1922, it was \$1,552,877.03. During the first year of my administration it was by September 1, 1923, reduced to \$847,053.66, and now it is entirely overcome and is replaced with this excellent surplus of \$756,882.90 . . . Also, I would have you bear in mind that in this period your land assessments were equalized to a lower level and that a cut in the state tax rate of sixteen and two-thirds per cent was made without borrowing any money. Besides, the regular payments on the funded debt and university bonds in the sum of \$340,000 were paid on the state's interest-bearing debt. I confess to a pardonable pride in these achievements.²⁰

Later, in the same address, he continued:

No new revenues of any consequence were provided by the Legislature of 1923 except the excise and gasoline taxes.²¹

The gasoline tax went exclusively to highways, no part of which could be used to balance the general accounts or pay any debt. The motor licenses yielded an increase over 1922 of \$996,533.81, and that too went entirely to highways. The corporation excise tax yielded \$674,688.75. This amount was available to pay the \$1,000,000 debt, overcome the immense deficit, supply the depleted revenue from the land tax and create the present surplus. The remainder of the necessary funds came through a reduction in state expenses and by a close and careful collection of current revenues.²²

At the end of his second term of office Governor Peay continued to praise the Reorganization Act. It had brought good business in government. To use the words of the chief executive again:

Our state will never know a better piece of legislation than the reorganization bill. Today, Tennessee has the best administrative system in the Union. It has absolutely revolutionized our finances Land assessments have been reduced thirty-three and one-third per cent.²³

²⁰Alexander, p. 159.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 160.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Alexander, p. 232.

The official records in the Department of Commerce at Washington reveal the fact that in 1926 Tennessee was next to the lowest state in the Union in the per capita cost of her state government.²⁴ Drawing a comparison between the last fiscal year (1922) of Governor Taylor's administration and the last fiscal year of Governor Peay's second term we find the total state expenditures in the first instance were \$13,939,762.09 and in the latter \$22,058,934.08—a difference of \$8,119,171.99. How is this difference accounted for? Governor Peay spent \$11,569,840.34 on highways. Taylor, for the same purpose, spent \$4,663,998.34—a difference of \$6,905,842.00. Peay spent \$4,734,453.50 on education. Taylor, for the same purpose, used \$3,430,886.16 or \$1,303,587.34 less than Peay for schools. Totaling the two sums, to-wit: \$6,905,842.00 on roads and \$1,303,587.34 for schools, we have \$8,209,429.34, and now subtracting the last figures from the total amount spent by Governor Peay, the result is less for the general expenses of the state than they were in the case of his predecessor.²⁵

Governor Peay believed that the chief factor leading to the improved financial condition of the state was the enactment of the Administrative Reorganization Bill of 1923. The act accomplished the reorganization of the state's administrative machinery from top to bottom; it apparently replaced waste with economy, established responsible government, and put agencies of administration under direct control.

It is true, as an examination of the Financial Statement from the Department of Finance and Taxation²⁶ will prove, that both revenues and expenditures materially increased in Tennessee between 1923 and 1932.²⁷ Does the state have anything to show for the increased outlay? At the beginning of the period mentioned there were about 290 miles of hard surface highways under state supervision. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, expenditures for highway construction and maintenance were \$5,145,490.63, and annually thereafter more miles were added to the state system until at the close of the fiscal year of 1932 there

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 262.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

²⁶A condensed Financial Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for Fiscal years between June 30, 1924-1932, compiled by the Department of Finance and Taxation.

²⁷See Table I.

were 3,729.1 miles of high type hard surface roads completed and 7,226 miles of road being maintained. Expenses for construction reached their peak ending with the year June 30, 1930, when \$36,693,081.15 was expended. During the same period seventeen highway bridges were constructed at a cost of \$9,340,000, which cost is being repaid from tolls.

TABLE I
TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS OF
TENNESSEE, 1911 to 1932 INCLUSIVE

Fiscal Year ²	Total Expenditures ¹	Total Receipts
1911	\$ 4,148,888.96	\$ 4,068,530.36
1912	4,128,361.51	4,666,537.83
1913	4,550,634.17	4,502,891.65
1914	5,249,580.41	4,663,978.98
1915	5,289,937.93	5,309,929.25
1916	5,455,721.11	4,939,555.66
1917	7,362,115.64	8,239,008.97
1918	7,728,123.76	7,954,650.24
1919 Omitted because of change in fiscal year		
1920	9,215,987.03	9,581,455.30
1921	11,701,779.06	11,308,248.41
1922	13,939,762.09	15,806,492.22
1923	16,260,650.58	17,554,440.60
1924	21,964,634.58	20,705,266.37
1925	24,934,069.43	24,982,778.96
1926	26,992,234.70	27,191,448.24
1927	35,902,925.22	39,644,158.35
1928	48,314,100.31	65,394,039.15
1929	64,978,994.19	63,016,699.18
1930	57,058,061.83	39,939,922.95
1931	56,324,653.22	57,567,387.72
1932 Figures unavailable at present		

¹From 1911 to 1923 inclusive the figures are taken from the Report of Tax Commission to Governor Henry H. Horton prepared by Dr. C. P. White, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Tennessee. Following 1923 they are taken from the various "condensed financial statements" issued by the Department of Finance and Taxation.

²From 1911 to 1918, inclusive, the fiscal year is from Dec. 20 to Dec. 19. From 1920 to the present, the fiscal year is from July 1 to June 30.

Cost in education during this period likewise increased. The fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, expenditures for education amounted to \$4,315,914.57. Increased appropriations to elementary high schools, teachers colleges and the University of Tennessee mounted until at the close of the fiscal year of 1932 the total sum for such purposes had reached \$9,077,795.74.

The furthering and developing of public health had also added new financial burdens. In 1923, Tennessee expended for such

purposes the sum of \$150,000.69. Due to the improvement and expansion of these services the costs for the year ending June, 1932, for disease control and prevention, and health education totaled \$607,338.30, while for care of the insane and unfortunate the state spent \$2,161,128.07 in 1924 as compared with \$3,317,916.55 in 1932. At the former date, approximately 7,000 wards were being cared for; at the latter the number perhaps exceeded 10,500.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, Tennessee contributed to Civil War veterans and their widows the sum of \$755,795.56. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, the amount reached \$1,439,386.59. State aid to agricultural interests likewise increased from \$198,038.55 in 1923 to \$405,574.24 in 1932.²⁸

The importance of the figures given above lies in the light they throw upon particular expenditures. Will schools continue to take more than one-fifth of the total yearly expenditures? The amount spent upon highways has gradually increased from 1.7 per cent in 1917 until at the present time they are consuming over one-half the state's yearly revenues. The table above shows a decrease in the cost of the general government since 1923, but regardless of what is said it seems clear that total expenditures can be changed but little unless changes are made in the cost of roads and schools. These two functions for the period between 1923 and 1932 absorbed an average of 83.24 per cent of the state's tax dollar. However, as has been shown, increased cost during this period likewise has meant an increase in the number of services and the efficiency in which they operate.

Now looking at our problem of reorganization from a different point of view. In states like Tennessee, where reorganization has gone furthest, there are conspicuous omissions and defects. Here the governor's authority has been greatly increased. Many are asking the question, if the governor's power be thus increased, should not additional means be provided for holding him responsible for the use of his authority? They believe with Montesquieu that every man who gets power is prone to abuse it. It seems that proper tools are necessary for good government—but neither machinery nor personnel is all important. Paper government does not count, as every politician knows. Government may

²⁸The above figures have been taken from the Condensed Financial Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for Fiscal Years between June 30, 1924-1932, compiled by the Department of Finance and Taxation.

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT COST—PAYMENTS GOING
FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT PURPOSES, 1915-1932¹

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1922	1923	1924	1925	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Education	29.9	29.0	28.1	27.4	27.4	27.7	33.4	31.6	21.6	21.44	22.98	15.96	12.22	15.74	23.33
Charities, Hospitals and Corrections	20.8	20.5	21.7	23.7	23.7	12.8	13.4	13.5	9.6	10.89	7.91	6.82	5.65	6.12	8.53
Interest	13.7	11.9	12.1	11.7	10.9	5.7	5.8	4.9	3.4	3.19	3.21	2.84	6.24	8.25	14.24
General Government	10.5	12.4	10.9	10.8	8.6	8.8	6.9	7.9	7.5	6.07	4.85	4.31	3.16	3.93	7.75
Highways			1.7	6.8	7.7	28.7	26.6	30.7	49.4	52.51	52.95	55.70	56.57	57.59	24.75

¹For the years 1915-1926, Financial Statistics of States, issued by the Bureau of the Census has been used. The figures for the remaining years have been compiled from the Condensed Financial Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, 1924-1932, issued by the Tennessee Department of Finance and Taxation.

be reformed but often the same old business which contributed to its corruption before goes on afterwards.

The machinery of government that was created by the Act of 1923 and permitted to function since, apparently produced good results under the leadership of Governor Peay. Since his last administration ended in 1929, conditions seem to have been altered. Are such reverses due to faulty machinery, to inefficient and corrupt personnel, or to the period through which we have passed since that time? Regardless of the answer to this question, the sharpest words of Governor Hull McAlister when he delivered his inaugural address January 17, 1933, were "retrench" and "retreat." His first pledge was to balance the state budget without the imposition of additional taxes.²⁹ He said:

The trouble with the finances of the state is three-fold: The enormous bonded debt, the accrued unfunded deficit, and above all, the recurring deficit in the general funds.

To every department of our government there must be applied the painful but necessary process of contraction and reduction in cost.³⁰

Early in January of 1933 the state was staggering under a \$12,000,000 deficit, \$89,000,000 worth of outstanding state bonds and notes, and an additional responsibility for \$28,800,000 worth of county highway bonds.³¹

Perhaps the words of President Lowell are well worth quoting here:

A reform often works better at the outset than it does later, because the moral impulse that carries it through causes good men to take part in administering it. The real test comes later when the first enthusiasm has cooled, when the reformers are busy with other things, and the professional politician, whose trade depends on being at work while others are not, has had a chance to try his hand at the new machinery.³²

. . . It is easy enough to prove that any form of government will work like a charm if every one who has a share in public authority is spotless in wisdom and character; and there has probably never existed a political system of which men have not tried to demonstrate the perfection.³³

²⁹*The Memphis Commercial Appeal*, January 18, 1933.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1933.

³²A. Lawrence Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, p. 230.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 233.

The Reorganization Act of 1923 has not remedied all the ills of state government in Tennessee; nevertheless, it has gone far towards introducing a scientific and efficient form of administrative organization into the state and is apparently a step in the right direction. In a few cases its progress has been held in check by constitutional restrictions. But no state can expect to work out its political and governmental salvation through administrative machinery alone. The character of the men who operate this machinery appears to be equally if not more important. The success of such a scheme as is now operating in Tennessee, in the last analysis, will depend greatly on the competence of the governor and his appointees.

PRESIDENT POLK AND THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

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There has been a long-controverted question concerning Polk's alleged pledge to offer annexation to Texas by new negotiation in lieu of the more immediate annexation actually offered under the House resolutions. Although recent writers without exception have absolved Polk of such commitment, they overlook a considerable part of the evidence—a part so unfavorable to their conclusion as to invite review.

During the session of 1844-45, Polk's election having lent new impetus to the Texas annexation movement, Congress busied itself with various plans, which narrowed down to A. V. Brown's resolutions in the House for direct, immediate annexation and Senator Benton's bill for negotiation to smooth out international difficulties and prevent a Mexican embroglio. Benton's bill found much support among the Whigs and might eventually have received from the "immediate" annexationists enough votes to pass in the Senate. A special committee of seven was appointed (Benton, McDuffie, Walker, Dix, Allen, Ashley, and Fairfield) to report one plan, and at first it seemed likely that Walker's motion in committee to report Benton's bill would carry. Even McDuffie agreed to support it as being "more immediate in its operation" than the House plan. But the committee eventually deadlocked when McDuffie abruptly found objections, having received his cue from Secretary Calhoun, who detested Benton and his plan.¹ Allen, one of Benton's followers, wavered and favored capitulation. Finally, at the end of February, 1845, the adherents of Benton's plan agreed to a compromise, but seemingly with a significant understanding.

The two annexation plans were finally linked, on Senator Walker's motion, as alternatives between which the President (and not Texas, as first proposed) should choose, and on March 1 the measure passed, the House resolutions being followed by the Benton plan in this manner:

¹J. M. Niles to Gideon Welles, February 13, 20, 1845, in Welles MSS. (in Library of Congress); Calhoun to Donelson, May 23, 1845, in J. F. Jameson, *The Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, 658, in *Am. Hist. Assn. Report*, 1899, II; *Washington Globe*, February 13-20, 1845.

Section 3. *And be it further resolved*, That if the President of the United States shall, in his judgment and discretion, deem it most advisable, instead of proceeding to submit the foregoing resolution to the republic of Texas, . . . to negotiate with that republic—then, *Be it resolved*, That a State, to be formed out of the present republic of Texas, with suitable extent and boundaries, . . . shall be admitted into the Union by virtue of this act . . . as soon as the terms and conditions of such admission, and the cession of the remaining Texan territory to the United States, shall be agreed upon by the governments of Texas and the United States; and that the sum of \$100,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to defray the expenses of missions and negotiations, to agree upon the terms of said admission and cession, either by treaty to be submitted to the Senate, or by articles to be submitted to the two Houses of Congress, as the President may direct.

A. V. Brown had first suggested the linking and alternative idea to Blair, editor of the *Globe*, as a possible means of reconciling the antagonistic Democratic factions. Benton and his particular friends—Senators Dix, Haywood, Bagby, Tappan and Niles—had refused to support the House plan, considering it offensive to Texas, unconstitutional, and a virtual act of war against Mexico if the President should proceed to annex “all of Texas” according to her own and the re-annexationists’ generous description. Yet they voted, curiously, for the final arrangement. How or why could they consent, having such fears and scruples, to an arrangement whereby, Benton’s bill being ostensibly a mere alternative, the President might choose and act under the offensive House measure? “How far their constitutional objections were obviated by the amendment, seems to have depended entirely upon their faith in the President’s selecting the course they deemed to be in accordance with that instrument.”² Bagby, for one, when voting for the compromise expressed his “confidence that the President would discard the proposal of the House.”

In July, 1848, Senator Tappan published a precise explanation of their conduct in this matter:

Mr. Haywood, who had voted with me, and was opposed to the House resolutions, undertook to converse with Mr. Polk on the subject, and did so. He afterwards told me that he was authorized by Mr. Polk to say to myself and other Senators that, if we could pass the resolutions with the amendment proposed to be made, he

²Niles’ *Register* (Baltimore), LXVIII, 16, of March 8, 1845; cf. S. C. Phillips, *An Address on the Annexation of Texas*, November 14 and 18, 1845 (Boston, 1845), 8. 9 (on Bagby).

would not use the House resolutions, but would submit the Senate amendment as the sole proposition to Texas. Upon this assurance I voted.³

Tappan wrote Blair for his recollection; and in his reply of July 7, 1848, (which was published with Tappan's statement) Blair likewise says that Benton's friends had refused to vote for the measure until such pledge had been received from President-elect Polk. Says Blair:

After several interviews with Messrs. Haywood, Dix, Benton and others (Mr. Allen, of Ohio, using his influence in the same direction) . . . I consulted the *President elect on the subject*. In the conference I had with him, *he gave me full assurance that he would appoint a commission as contemplated in the bill prepared by Col. Benton, if passed in conjunction with the House resolution as an alternative.*

Blair told Polk that Benton had proposed Wright and Crittenden, Polk responding that "the first men of the country should fill the commission." Blair adds:

Both Messrs. Dix and Haywood told me they had interviews with Mr. Polk on the subject. . . . After the law was passed, and Mr. Polk inaugurated, he applied to Gen. Dix (as I am informed by the latter) to urge the Senate to act upon one of the suspended Cabinet appointments, saying that he wished his administration organized immediately, as he intended the instant recall of the messenger [sent to Texas with the House resolutions by President Tyler] . . . and to revoke his orders given in the last moments of his power.

Blair's memory was not merely filled conveniently for the occasion. For the old editor had written months before this, to Van Buren, that jealous fear of Benton's gaining a transcendent prestige in the party had moved Polk to violate his pledge, by rejecting Benton's plan and acting under the House plan. He had moreover corresponded with Senators Dix and Haywood, only to find that both recollected perfectly and agreed with his understanding of the pledges given them by Polk. Blair tells Van Buren, in a letter of February 29, 1848:

I wrote to Haywood about the act of treachery perpetrated on our leaders in regard to annexation . . . He begs [lateness of] day and

³Tappan to the *New York Evening Post*, July 21, 1848. This, Blair's, and the other letters written on the subject in 1848 are to be found in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, XLIII (1909-10), 110-121; L. G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, III, 162-169; *Niles' Register*, LXXIV, 106; T. H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II, 636-638.

asks me to consider whether it would not be a violation of Confidence to make public the pledges by which the vote of the Senate was carried. I have written to him that I think not—because it was an unsought communication to be delivered to public men to influence the act of a public body in relation to a national measure, and concerning which no secrecy was enjoined or could necessarily be implied . . . The whole transaction was such as required no concealment until Mr. Polk made it otherwise by a violation of his good faith by an official act. I have written to Haywood, however, that for the present I do not perceive that circumstances make it necessary that the affair should be published, but that I want his testimony put on paper that it may be permanent to corroborate mine if events should demand it. . . . He is very coy & I am afraid I shall not bring him to the Book . . .⁴

Thus Haywood privately adds his testimony to the truth of the charge against Polk, though unwilling to take part in a public exposure of his friend.

Haywood's "authorship" of the compromise—his giving other Senators "assurances" and thus gaining their support for the final bill—was stated circumstantially in a letter written to Blair at the time by a close ear and eye witness. The letter, intended to correct misrepresentations of the attitude of Benton's friends and defend and praise his bill, appeared in the *Globe* of March 20, 1845, without signature; it is couched, however, in a vein and style so much like the peculiar tongue of Benton's pen that we may suspect his authorship. "Mr. Bagby will vote for the compromise," said Haywood, among other such remarks to individuals in the Senate; "I have pledged him to it with his own full and free consent."⁵ In his *Thirty Years' View* Benton quotes the Tappan-Blair letters, and declares their charge against Polk to be true.

Polk, rather naturally, denied the charge in 1848, privately and in his diary; and recent writers, generally favorable to Polk, reject the public charge by Tappan and Blair in 1848 as false and inspired by political animus, as caused notably by their recent attachment to the "free-soil" movement. While older writers accepted the charge, these recent ones have preferred to picture the Benton group as eagerly seeking the slightest pretext to make

⁴Blair to Van Buren, February 29, 1848, in Van Buren MSS., Vol. 54 (in Library of Congress).

⁵Cf. Benton's remarks on Haywood in the Senate on February 27, 1847. *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., 497. Haywood's "authorship" was also stated by papers in his home state. See *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), March 26, 1845.

a complete surrender, snatching at an imaginary pledge by Polk to gloss it over with seeming honor.⁶ The significance of the matter lies chiefly in the fact that the Mexican War followed more easily upon, though not necessarily as the result of, the selection of the House mode. "Thus was Texas incorporated into the Union—by a deception, and by deluding five Senators out of their votes," says Benton. "It was not a barren fraud, but one prolific of evil and pregnant with bloody fruit."

Upon noting the Tappan-Blair charges, Polk wrote in his diary in 1848 that on arriving at Washington on February 13, 1845, he had

believed that if no measure proposing annexation was passed at the session, that Texas would be lost to the Union. But I certainly never understood myself as pledged to select that mode [Benton's] if the resolutions passed in that form. I never authorized Mr. Haywood or any one else to make such pledges to Senators. My cabinet was unanimously of the opinion that the selection made by Mr. Tyler ought not to be reversed and that it was to be preferred to the alternative of appointing commissioners. Neither Mr. Haywood or any other made any inquiry of me personally on the subject. . . . The whole is an afterthought, and is designed to effect a political purpose, by advancing Mr. Van Buren's prospects for the Presidency.⁷

Elsewhere in his diary, however, Polk recalls conversations with Haywood, of which he says (strangely forgetful of the *alternative arrangement*):

I remember to have said that if the measure cannot pass in one form, it was better to pass it in any form than not at all. The proposition to appoint commissioners to negotiate . . . was mentioned in these conversations, & I may have said, and probably did, that if this form was adopted I would endeavor to affect [*sic*] annexation under it.

Besides denying the charge in his diary, Polk wrote privately to his cabinet members, asking each one to state what he knew of the alleged pledges given by Polk in February, 1845—explaining that he wished the testimonial in case he should undertake a public vindication. The written testimonials coming from such a quarter

⁶J. H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 349, 350 note; G. L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico 1821-1848*, I, 692-694; E. I. McCormac, *The Life of James K. Polk*, 315-317; W. H. Meigs, *The Life of Thomas Hart Benton*, 353.

⁷M. M. Quaife, ed., *The Diary of James K. Polk*, IV, 38-52.

were naturally favorable and, taken with the diary denial, have convinced recent writers of Polk's innocence. Yet the President's gesture was perhaps but a travesty on inquiry for truth, a red herring drawn across the trail: he asked his cabinet what they knew directly of something of which it is not likely they could have known anything directly. They were asked for a negative testimony, which, though meaningless, would seem positive in Polk's favor to posterity.

Why did Polk never publicly deny the charges, after collecting so much testimony? Was he contemptuous of the charge—or did he possibly fear to provoke further testimony from men who might otherwise remain silent, men more weighty and more disinterested than Tappan and Blair? He may never have intended to publish the cabinet testimony; indeed, this is extremely probable. Their letters have since been brought to view only by the research of historians into Polk's private papers. Secretary John Y. Mason wrote Tyler on November 29, 1848: "One of the characteristics of Mr. Polk is secretiveness. . . . He addressed a letter to me, asking if I knew of any such commitment on his part as was imputed. . . . *He did not* wish it to be known that he had taken this step, for the good reason that he might never notice the publication."⁸ Polk evidently enjoined this secrecy orally, in cabinet session, for there is no such request in his letters of inquiry to the individual members. The most curious and striking thing about Polk's collecting of exculpatory testimony is the fact that he did not address his friends Dix and Haywood, who were mentioned by Blair and Tappan as the most prominent agents in the episode of 1845. If the charge were untrue, what could have been more natural for Polk to do than write to them for exonerating testimony? How could this step not be his very first thought in self-defence—unless something in his memory forbade?

No valid objections to the reliability of Blair's, Tappan's and Benton's testimony have been ventured by those who reject it and who thus asperse the character of these public men, while assuming honesty in Polk despite the fact that his "honesty" has been much questioned and is suspect, to say the least. Haywood's understanding of the Texas compromise we have seen. Senators Dix and Bagby also give the same testimony against Polk, and do this at

⁸Tyler, *Tylers*, II, 408, 409. For the testimonials of the cabinet see the references cited above in note 3. The originals are in the Polk MSS. in the Library of Congress.

the time, in 1845—which shows the unreliability of Polk's dictum in 1848 that "the whole is an afterthought, . . . designed to effect a political purpose." They are six in agreement, he is one. And the more lucid, circumstantial and less labored nature of their testimony, as well as the character of the men, would seem to justify one in preferring their version to Polk's even if his record in other affairs were less open to question⁹ and his testimony in the present instance were less subject to the influence of personal interest.

Polk's professed "surprise" that his "treachery" had not been charged shortly after the event—a plea which has carried much weight with Professor J. H. Smith—is a fine example of special pleading. Was such loud outcry of "betrayal" to have been expected in 1845 under the circumstances? Would not the betrayed Senators, being Democrats, lose much and gain nothing by giving publicity to Polk's unfulfilled pledges? Surely they should not be expected to cry over spilt milk with the spiller, Polk, in charge of so much tempting patronage. Polk's course in March, 1845, was not known fully, moreover, till some time after.

Secretary Walker helpfully suggested in his response to Polk's inquiry in 1848 that the latter may have said something to the Senators about choosing diplomatic commissioners which was gratuitously "misapprehended" as a pledge. Professor Smith has embraced this palliatory suggestion and adds, curiously enough for one trying to clear Polk, that he might have "intentionally . . . used ambiguous language to smooth the road" to annexation. But an intentional ambiguity, deliberately anticipating the betrayal of the impression of pledge conveyed, would hardly be less censurable than an unambiguous statement Polk later decided to repudiate.

The hypothesis seems too thin. Could *several* able gentlemen have broached and all misunderstood Polk when history hung on right understanding? The other alternative that may occur to the reader—that the firm adherents of Benton's bill deliberately "framed" Polk by false charge—is hardly tenable considering their character, the continued friendship of several of them for

⁹On two illustrations of Polk's "honesty" overlooked by late writers, see Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II, 663-667, in connection with Polk's *Diary*; Dix to Wright, July 10, 1846, in Morgan Dix, *Memoir of John A. Dix*, I, 202. See also M. C. Eiselen, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (University of Pennsylvania Studies, 1932), 160-166, and notes 33, 59.

Polk, and the various dates and circumstances attending the giving of their testimony.

To save Texas annexation from defeat, to gain its passage in the Senate, it was only natural that Polk should give the necessary pledges. Of his anxiety and activity in behalf of the measure Horace Greeley wrote from Washington on February 22, 1845:

The President elect is the master spirit of the Texas intrigue, and is concentrating his influence, power and patronage wholly on this point. No secret is made of the fact that he is delaying the formation of his Cabinet until the Texas question is settled with express reference to securing votes for annexation.¹⁰

Before noting the testimony of Bagby and Dix, we sum up the events of February–March, 1845, for clarity. President-elect Polk having been satisfactorily interviewed by leading members of the Benton group, Haywood apprised Senator Walker that Benton's friends would vote yea if his bill were joined as an alternative to the House plan with the choice between them left to the Chief Executive. It was generally assumed and understood in Congress that President Tyler would not interfere but would leave the matter to his successor, who came in on March 4. Senator McDuffie, a spokesman of the administration, declared that Tyler would not have the "audacity" to act. This was taken by many Congressmen as an executive promise. Polk was freely and exclusively mentioned in debate as the one for whom such choice was intended. And Walker declared in the Senate that Foster's proposed amendments were unnecessary because their subject matter was already in the bill, "and if the President proceeded properly in the negotiation, he would act upon it."¹¹ This again, says Benton, considering Walker's close relations to the incoming President, "seemed to be authoritative that negotiation was to be the mode." The measure then went on the statute books.

Secretary Calhoun immediately urged Tyler to act. The President hesitated from motives of propriety, but finally let Calhoun interview Polk to see if he had any objection to Tyler's proceeding in the matter. Polk refused to express any opinion, making it clear that he was agreeable to Tyler's going ahead—and he knew, of course, which mode Tyler would choose. Was this clever strategy? Was he already considering the repudiation of pledges to act under Benton's plan, encouraging Tyler to a commitment

¹⁰*Louisville Journal*, March 4, 1845.

¹¹Walker in *Cong. Globe*, 28 Cong., 2 Sess., 360 (February 27, 1845).

in favor of the House plan so that he, Polk, could evade the pledges? The fact of this Tyler-Polk consultation was apparently first indubitably known through Calhoun's late divulgement, in his Senate speech of February, 1847; and there may well have been more of a real understanding between the two Presidents than Calhoun was willing to release to the public. The official confessions of high interested parties are seldom quite candid. Be that as it may, Tyler hastened to dispatch the House resolutions to Texas on the night of March 3—a stormy night, as if replete with fell omens, according to the "Old Roman" Benton, who would have it known that Senators' indignation was not delayed for three years or then manufactured. Congress met on Monday, March 4, "for the last day of its existence; and great was the astonishment of members to hear that the actual president had assumed the execution of the act . . . had adopted the legislative clause. . . . It was then seen that some Senators had been cheated out of their votes, and that the passage of the act through the Senate had been procured by a fraud." Five Senators "would have voted against the resolutions if it had not been believed that the execution of the act would be left to the new president, and that he would adopt Mr. Benton's."¹²

Polk's inaugural message seems to imply that he had first intended negotiation: "By an act of the late Congress . . . the assent of this government has been given to the re-union; and it only remains for the two countries *to agree upon the terms*, to consummate the object." Also, his course after the inauguration seemed "peculiar" to Professor Smith,¹³ for he wrote to Donelson, the Minister to Texas, on March 7 to suspend Tyler's dispatch of instructions:

In two or three days another will be forwarded to you on the same subject by a special messenger. But five members of my Cabinet have as yet been confirmed. . . . I desire you, not to take any definite action in pursuance of the instructions given in the despatch

¹²Benton, *View*, II, 636-638. The Washington correspondent of the *New York News* complained that, "although everybody knew Mr. Polk to be the President whom the Senate had in mind when they added the provisions for future negotiations with Texas, by the Executive, Mr. Tyler has dispatched . . . the original resolutions, the effect of which . . . will only be to embarrass the negotiations." Quoted in *Louisville Courier*, March 11, 1845.

¹³Smith, *Annexation of Texas*, 353, 354. The italics above are not Polk's.

of the 3rd Inst. until after you receive the one which will be forwarded in two or three days, and by which *the instructions will probably be modified*.¹⁴

When the cabinet finally assembled, Polk asked them if there was any reason why Tyler's instructions should be changed and Benton's plan adopted. The cabinet knew of none, and Polk on March 10 sent Donelson an order to carry out those of March 3. Polk's instructions of March 7 might seem to jibe with Blair's statement that Dix was assured by Polk, when the last cabinet appointment was yet unconfirmed, that he meant to revoke Tyler's instructions and act under Benton's bill. Had Polk possibly been gratified when his cabinet met to find that none of them (except Walker, perhaps) knew of his commitment or felt that he should be bound by it? He could, then, transcend his pledges safely, citing Tyler's act to allege his own "helpless acquiescence." It was not well known at the time that Polk had actually suspended, deliberated on, and then finally allowed Tyler's instructions, making the final selection between the alternatives his own act. The responsibility for the choice was wholly his, for he had a perfect right to revoke Tyler's instructions.

It was only natural that Tyler should have been the first target of strictures, later shared by Polk when more was publicly known of his conduct. Blair published an editorial on "Mr. Tyler's Haste" in the *Globe* of March 4, saying:

We understand that Mr. Tyler . . . had chosen that alternative which it is known could not have commanded a majority in the Senate, and had rejected that which carried the majority in the House from *twenty-two* to *fifty-six*. Mr. Tyler knows well that congress did not intend to thrust the discretionary power in his hands. He knows well that, if he had appointed the commissioners necessary under one of the alternatives of the act, they would not have been confirmed . . .

In his Texas editorials in March, 1845, Blair implies very plainly that Polk is expected to act under the diplomatic alternative. In the *Globe* of March 26 he gives a history of the compromise arrangement:

In this attitude of the antagonist plans, Mr. Walker proposed to Mr. Allen to unite them—making Mr. Benton's the alternative, and to be acted on in case Texas rejected the terms of the joint

¹⁴Polk to Donelson, March 7, 1845, in *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, III, 62. My italics. Donelson received the letter at New Orleans on March 19. Donelson to Polk, March 19, 1845, in *Tyler's Hist. and Geneal. Quart.*, VI, 234, 235.

resolutions . . . but Messrs. Haywood, Bagby, Dix, and several other senators, considered it inadmissible to transfer to the executive of Texas a discretion over *a measure which they could not support without a knowledge and control over its execution*, and therefore insisted that the right of deciding which of the alternative propositions should be acted on belonged to our executive, on whom the consummation depended. Mr. Haywood drew up the compromise plan, and submitted it to Mr. Walker . . . and it became law.

Blair speaks thus as boldly (in the part I have italicized) as his prudence allowed. He feared to offend Polk, for he had reason to feel that his continuance as administration editor for the *Democracy* was a very precarious thing. Indeed, Polk *was* offended by such reminders. He wrote his old patron Jackson on March 26:

In the *Globe* on the same evening (24th), an article on Texian affairs appeared of an exceptionable and mischievous character . . . You will see that the tone of this article, as well as others which have recently appeared, is such as to justify Mr. Benton's policy on the Texas question, (and, of course to condemn mine) . . . The truth is, Blair is more devoted to *Col. Benton* than to the success of my administration . . . I have a very strong impression, that *Mr. Blair* expected to control me and the policy of my administration, upon this and other subjects.¹⁵

Now we turn to the testimonies of Senators Bagby and Dix, who both speak in 1845. The hot criticism of Bagby for his Texas course was so great in his home state of Alabama and elsewhere that he determined to explain his conduct before the state legislature on his return home.¹⁶ In a private letter to a friend on September 24, 1845, he took pains to justify his conduct:

That I was decidedly opposed to the resolutions as they came from the House, I never have and never shall deny. . . . My opposition to the House resolutions enabled me to advocate and insist upon the amendment, by which alone, as every one now admits, the measure was saved . . .

The President . . . volunteered, in a recent conversation, to do anything in his power to set the public mind right in regard to my course, stating that he was not ignorant of my position . . . and had vindicated me during the silly uproar that prevailed here. . . . The result of the whole matter is this: the resolutions from the House could not have passed without my vote—by adding to them an amendment prepared by myself and others, they were saved and

¹⁵Polk to Jackson, March 26, 1845, in Jackson MSS. (in Library of Congress).

¹⁶Bagby to G. W. Gayle, September 10, 1845, in *Mobile Register*, September 25, 1845.

the annexation of Texas secured. . . . I held the fate of the Texas measure in my hand. . . . The proposition I advocated was not only pronounced by Gen. Jackson the best . . . but *it met the entire approbation of Mr. Polk, and he said if it was adopted, he would appoint the first men of the nation to carry it into effect. The precipitate action of Mr. Tyler. . . . I presume furnished the only reason for Mr. Polk's departure from his expressed intention.*¹⁷

Remaining at Washington because of ill health, and so unable to speak before the legislature, Bagby wrote a "Letter to the People of Alabama," on November 15, 1845, in which he is even more explicit:

It was not only known to me that Gen. Jackson preferred the Senate's amendment, but while the fate of Texas was trembling in the balance, I was informed by three gentlemen [Dix, Haywood and Blair], high in the confidence of the democratic party, two of them members of the Senate, . . . that they had called on the President elect . . . for the purpose of ascertaining his views, and he assured them, if the amendment could be adopted and the measure saved, he would act under the amendment, and appoint the first men in America to carry it into effect. I mention this for no other purpose than to show, that, while I was charged with acting a part calculated, and was under the influence of a secret desire, to defeat the measure of annexation, I was acting in exact accordance with the views and opinions of those who enjoyed the largest portion of the confidence of the Republican party.¹⁸

Bagby's address is friendly to Polk, but criticizes Tyler; his narrative is devoid of animus. As he himself says, "My object is self vindication, not to criminate or inculcate others."

Senator Niles of Connecticut was another one who opposed the House plan, favored Benton's plan, and finally voted for the compromise. He wrote Gideon Welles on February 20, 1845: "The last proposition is to add Benton's bill to the house bill and pass

¹⁷Bagby's letter, written at Washington, was published by the friend to whom it was written, in the *Mobile Register*, November 8, 1845. Bagby was doubtless the "competent authority" for the following statement in the *Mobile Register* on October 25 and 31: "Mr. Polk, who had just arrived at Washington, was consulted, and gave the alternative resolutions his approval. Those who proffered the compromise had his assurance, that if passed in that form he should prefer the latter, and proceed under them." My italics above.

¹⁸"Letter of Arthur P. Bagby, Senator in Congress, to the People of Alabama," November 15, 1845, in *Mobile Register*, December 4, 1845.

it that way. This I believe originated with Allen; but Dix and Bagby say they cannot go for it and others of us do not like it."¹⁹ This was written before Polk was consulted. We learn from Niles' letter to Welles of March 1 that he had explained his vote for the final compromise in a letter to Welles of the day before. Unfortunately, the letter is either lost or mislaid. Tappan wrote to Niles in May, 1848, asking for his remembrance of the affair, Tappan being one of those to whom Polk's assurances were conveyed.²⁰ Niles' reply, if he wrote one, is not found.

It is significant that Polk felt called upon to make explanations to Haywood after his choice of the House plan. His letter to Haywood of August 9, 1845, is distinctly apologetic:

The action of the Government and people of Texas—on the question of annexation—shows I think the wisdom of the choice of the alternative propositions which was made—If the other alternative had been chosen, I think we have now abundant evidence to prove that Texas would probably have been lost to the Union. If negotiations had been opened by commissioners great delay would necessarily have taken place, giving ample opportunity to *British* and *French* intrigue to have seriously embarrassed—if not defeated annexation. It was not until after I entered upon my duties that I had opportunity—deliberately to consider of the two propositions—and to select between them. I acted upon my own best judgment and the result has proved that I was right. You are probably apprized too of the fact—that one of the last acts of the late administration was to select the same alternative: and when I came in, I found that an express messenger had been dispatched with it to the Texan government—My own judgment approved the selection, though not all the views contained in the dispatch which had been sent out. These were modified and a second messenger quickly followed the first. These are matters which I feel at liberty to state to you, as

¹⁹Niles to Welles, February 20, 1845, in Welles MSS., Vol. 32; cf. same to same, March 1, 1845, in *ibid.* See remarks made on Niles' course by his colleague, Senator Huntington. *Cong. Globe*, 29 Cong., 1 Sess., 90.

²⁰"When on the 13th Feby 1845 the House resolution for the admission of Texas was taken up—upon the report of the committee—in the Senate you & I had determined to vote against it—on the 27th Feby it was amended and we voted for it as amended. Will you state to me your recollection of the reasons which induced this change?" Tappan to Niles, May 7, 1848, in Welles MSS., Vol. 35. What a contrast this letter presents to Polk's pleading letters of inquiry to his cabinet members. Tappan writes with *much restraint* for one who, according to Polk, was bringing false testimony before the public.

one of the Senators—and in such matters—one of my constitutional advisers:—they are stated however for yourself alone.²¹

What does Polk mean when he says that he makes this explanation to Haywood “as one of the Senators”? From this and Bagby’s private letter of September, 1845, it would seem that Polk had not yet thought of the denial he makes three years later. Haywood, rather irritated by Polk’s assumptive letter, in reply invited the President’s attention to the fact that twenty-four of his Senate colleagues were committed against the alternative adopted and with three new converts would yet prevent the annexation of Texas.²²

Polk probably sought likewise to mollify Senator Dix of New York, who similarly felt betrayed on the Texas matter, as well as on other counts. Dix’s son writes:

The course pursued towards him was regarded as one of duplicity . . . But his disgust and indignation were great when he discovered that he had been cheated. Among his letters are two addressed to President Polk, which express, in dignified terms, his sense of the arts practised at Washington, and imply that the government had broken faith with him and cajoled him by what looked like deliberate falsehoods. The sense of these wrongs burnt in the breasts of many of the old-line Democrats.

In 1850 Dix expressed his intention of publishing a full account of his vote for Texas, but such account has not been found.²³ But we have—what is better evidence than a later statement—a private letter written by Dix to Governor Wright on February 27, 1845, in which he makes the same statement regarding Polk’s pledges as do the five other men whose testimony has been seen above. His letter reads:

Washington, 27th Feb. 1845.

My dear Sir:—

I ought to write you at least half a quire of private political history, but I may not be able to write you a sheet. However, while Crittenden is speaking I must explain to you what seems unaccountable without an explanation. The vote on Texas will be taken, probably before the sun sets, and it will probably be favorable to her annexation to the United States—For two weeks our embarrassments, (or rather mine) have been greater than I would be

²¹Polk to Haywood, August 9, 1845, in Polk MSS., Ser. I, Vol. 73 (in Library of Congress).

²²Haywood to Polk, August 25, 1845, in Polk MSS. (Chicago); cited in Smith, *Annexation of Texas*, 464, 465.

²³Morgan Dix, *John A. Dix*, I, 230, 196.

willing to encounter again. A committee of 7 was appointed by a democratic caucus of the Senate—Benton, Fairfield, Walker, McDuffie, Allen, Ashley and myself. We were to agree, if possible, on a proposition on which all could unite. The first one presented to us was the joint resolution from the house. Our opinions were asked. *I said at once with distinctness that I could not vote for it under any circumstances.* Then, said Mr. Walker, it must fail, and I am willing to take Benton's bill. McDuffie said the same thing; and thus things remained for a few days, with a pretty apparent manifestation from without that this should not be the determination. It was accordingly said that Benton's bill must fail. Allen, unfortunately, from what influence I will not undertake to say, gave way and started a proposition to unite the joint resolution and Benton's bill, referring the first to Texas and in case she refused the proffered conditions, then the President to execute Benton's bill. Without committing Haywood or myself, he commenced a canvas of the Senate, or at least the democratic part and a portion of the whig, and I believe all the other Senators on our side agreed to it. A second meeting of the committee was called. The state of things was explained and I was told that it depended on my vote. I answered that, in that case, Texas was killed, for I never would vote for a proposition, which submitted the joint resolution to her as a matter of obligation. From that moment *it was understood that the unconditional union of the two propositions was to be defeated by my vote*, I standing alone among the whigs of the Senate, and this will account to you for the closing, and very unwarrantable remarks of Allen's speech, that if Texas was to be killed by a single vote, "he hoped to God that vote would not be given by a democrat."

Before this, however, *I had a conversation with the President-elect, whose solicitude on the subject is very great, and he assured me that if he had any discretion placed in his hands, he would exercise it in such a manner as would satisfy us. The same evening I saw Haywood, and on consulting with him, I told him I would, with the consent and approbation of Benton, vote for a union of the two propositions with a proviso that the President in his discretion might, without submitting the conditions of the joint resolutions to Texas, open negotiations immediately under Benton's bill.* I must say to you also that Tappan came to me two days ago, not knowing what I had consented to do, and urged me to vote for a union of the two propositions with the alternative of opening negotiations with Texas after her refusal of the terms of the joint resolution. He told me I was taking upon myself a very grave responsibility by standing alone and separating myself from the entire body of my democratic associates in the Senate on a question, in respect to which I had (as I have) no constitutional scruples.—I told him I appreciated it fully, & no one could feel it more painfully, not so much on my account as for those, with whom I was considered most intimately connected. *But I could not yield. I then told him what I had consented to do.* For the last three days I have remained in this position. Yesterday morning, finding me immoveable, a movement was made to bring

certain impracticables on the other side to my terms. It is said to have succeeded, and a few hours will show. Twenty four democrats, (all there are) and three whigs are expected to go for it, making exactly a majority.

The thing that annoys me most is the position of our true friends in the House. I spoke to King before I came to the conclusion to vote for the union of the two propositions in any shape; he promised to consult the 15; he did so, or most of them, and told me he thought it would do. But some of them have some feeling about it—to what extent I do not know—and yet I apprehend a majority think I do right. If they knew the whole ground as I am trying to present it to you, I think they would fully concur in that opinion. I shall look with great anxiety for the view taken of my vote at home. I have determined not to speak. My friends think I had better not. If explanation is required, I must make it in some other way. I ought to say to you that Niles, Fairfield, Atherton and every democrat from the North, except Tappan and myself would have voted for the joint resolution standing by itself. Haywood would have voted for it—Benton would have felt bound to do it, and it was supposed until last evening that Bagby would have done so; and, as I have already said, *all but myself would have voted for an unconditional union of that resolution with Benton's bill.*

All this is necessary to enable you to understand why we shall probably vote against all amendments offered by the Whigs, and they will probably offer a great many to embarrass us. On all these details I shall go with Benton.

If the President [Polk] acts under Benton's bill, all will be right. The resolution will not be represented to Texas, and in either case the final action of Congress is to be submitted to. I cannot doubt the President's course. His assurance was given to others as well as myself; and his honor is sufficient security. . . . Benton is certain his bill would have been triumphantly sustained but for Allen who gave way at the very moment when by standing firm he would have secured our success . . .

I think our friends everywhere should expect and say that the President will undoubtedly overlook the joint resolution and act under Benton's proposition. I am confident he will. Should we be deceived, which I cannot for a moment believe, we shall stand in no worse position for putting this confidence in him.

But I must close and assure you that I am as ever yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

Silas Wright.²⁴

In reply of March 13 Governor Wright thanked Dix for his letter explaining the "capitulation" as to annexation, "as it has helped

²⁴From Dix MSS. in possession of Senator Dix's grandson, Mr. John A. Dix, of Mount Kisco, New York, who kindly provided the writer with a copy of the letter. Dix's letter is partially quoted in Governor Wright's reply, of March 13, 1845, in Gillet, *Silas Wright*, II, 1628. My italics.

us to understand much that would have been otherwise unintelligible. Your course was right and will be sustained by your friends, even if the two Presidents should defraud you of the understanding. I keep the letter for your protection."

Dix's advice that Polk's pledge should be made known helps explain the contemporary statements concerning it made in newspapers, especially of New York. The *New York Courier and Enquirer* states that "President Polk has avowed his determination to negotiate a treaty with Texas, under the alternative offered by Mr. Walker's amendment"—and, again, that he was "informed that Mr. Polk will adopt the alternative of negotiating a treaty of cession." The *New York Evening Post* says that "it was generally understood at Washington" that Polk meant to act according to Benton's plan. So, also, the *New York Mirror* was advised by its Washington correspondent: "The President, it is said, has determined to proceed by treaty."²⁵ This was, too, the "confident" expectation of the *National Intelligencer* at Washington, as expressed in the issue of March 4.

It is probable that this general knowledge of what Polk was expected to do explains Calhoun's and Tyler's "haste." An observer assures us that it was the belief of Senators, when they passed the Texas act, that Polk would select the diplomatic plan and "in order to prevent a selection of this alternative by President Polk, Tyler employed the last moment of his authority . . ."²⁶ Robert Tyler, the President's son, writes similarly, on April 19, 1845, that "by Walker's treachery (and I believe with Mr. Polk's concurrence) the joint resolutions with Benton's amendment passed the Senate. All this smells vastly of Hunkerism"—that is, of the Benton-Van Buren faction's hostility to direct, immediate annexation. "You perceive that Ritchie has already attacked my father for sending on the joint resolutions to Texas. Rest assured there is a faithful understanding among all."²⁷ Tyler's haste was thus undoubtedly inspired by fear of leaving the choice to Polk and by hostility to Benton's plan. Yet Tyler knew that Polk had a

²⁵*New York Courier and Enquirer* quoted in *Niles' Register*, LXVIII, 16 (March 8, 1845); in *Louisville Courier*, March 11, 1845; *Evening Post and Mirror* quoted in *National Intelligencer* (Washington), March 13, 1845.

²⁶*Niles' Register*, LXVIII, 18.

²⁷Robert Tyler to Calhoun, April 19, 1845, in Tyler, *Tylers*, III, 160, 161. Ritchie, editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, shortly hereafter became Polk's official spokesman as editor of the *Union*, which superseded Blair's *Globe* at Washington.

complete right to reverse his action. The belief of the Senators that there was a deliberate trick by the executives to defeat and evade the understanding they had with Polk certainly found justification in the circumstances.

That Tyler's action or choice was not acceptable to the Senate may be inferred from Senator Berrien's motion on March 10 that in executing the act the new President "will best conform to the provisions of the Constitution by resorting to the treaty-making power." After heated wrangling in executive session, McDuffie's motion to table prevailed by the close vote of 23 to 20. A Washington correspondent writes about this, on March 14:

The Senate (I talk of the majority in this instance yielding to the control of Colonel Benton) were sensitive if not indignant that the choice of the alternatives was not left to the new President, persuaded that under the necessity of harmonizing with the Senate Col. Polk would have to act upon the Benton plan. John Jones [a Tyler leader in the House], however, several days ago, . . . seeming to speak from authority, threw out a pretty broad hint that the Captain [Tyler] did consult with the Colonel [Polk] before he dispatched his nephew, Capt. Waggaman, to Texas in such hot haste . . . There is a good deal of mystery.²⁸

The vote to table Berrien's motion is not necessarily to be viewed as an acquiescence in Tyler's choice; it may be an expression of confidence in Polk, whose approval of Tyler's choice, in his dispatch of March 10, was not yet known.

From Benton's point of view Polk's repudiation of his pledges was a large step towards bringing on an undesirable war with Mexico and therefore most reprehensible. On the other hand, Polk assures us, as do Calhoun and Tyler, that any delay, as from negotiations, would have lost Texas because of British, French and Mexican diplomacy in that quarter. The severing of diplomatic relations by the Mexican Minister Almonte on March 6 may have been another factor if Polk had not already by then fully decided upon his course. But another, and stronger, motive for his choice appears in his conversation in May, 1845, with the Texan diplomatic agent Raymond, who reports to his government:

I had the pleasure of a long conversation with the President in regard to annexation. He is of opinion the wisest and safest course for Texas to pursue is to accede at once, to the terms of the Joint Resolutions, as proposed, and trust to the justice, honor, and magnanimity of this nation to correct whatever injustice may have been

²⁸New Orleans *Weekly Picayune*, March 31, 1845. Berrien's motion is given in the Washington papers of March 20.

done to Texas by the act of Congress. *He has no confidence in the Whig Senators, on this question and consequently believes it would be endangered by a treaty.*²⁹

Polk's unwillingness to negotiate terms with Texas was probably also partly due to his belief that President Anson Jones of Texas might seize this as a means of defeating annexation. Or was this view of Jones' policy *new* to Polk when he wrote privately on April 27: "I am satisfied that President Jones is opposed to annexation. . . . The policy of President Jones is, I am satisfied, to delay action—until the British government can consummate their plans"?³⁰

President Jones, unjustly, has been made the scapegoat of the annexation. While, indeed, he preferred and thought best that Texas should remain independent if a treaty of peace and recognition could be gained from Mexico, he placed no obstacle in the way of the popular desire in Texas for union with the United States. Both he and Houston were disappointed that Polk had not offered to arrange terms by negotiation; but he did not reject the House resolutions and demand negotiations as might be expected if he were so greatly set against annexation as his critics alleged. What could have presented a better means of putting off annexation than resort to negotiation? Yet Jones never demanded it—though the irreconcilable Houston urged it strongly, on the ground that a treaty could later be abrogated.³¹

Having secured the success of the annexation measure at home by pledges to Senators, Polk next helped gain its acceptance in Texas by using similar means. Seemingly this interesting subject has received no attention from the special students of annexation.³² The Texan statesman Ashbel Smith long afterwards narrated, with a certain asperity and sarcasm:

²⁹C. H. Raymond to Secretary E. Allen, May 19, 1845, in G. P. Garrison, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 377, in *Am. Hist. Assn. Report*, 1908, II, Part I. My italics.

³⁰Polk to Jackson, April 27, 1845, in Jackson MSS., Vol. 114.

³¹On Houston see Ashbel Smith, *Reminiscences of the Texas Republic*; Houston to A. J. Donelson, April 9, 1845, MS., copy in the Texas State Library.

³²The best accounts of the last stage of the annexation movement are: Smith, *Annexation of Texas*, 432-461; Annie Middleton, "Donelson's Mission to Texas in Behalf of Annexation," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1921), 247-291; McCormac, *Polk*, 352-372. Smith, in summarizing (pp. 460, 461), attributes the American success in Texas to Donelson's

Major Donelson, . . . and other official agents sent to Texas by the administration of President Polk, were most lavish of their averments of what the federal government would do for Texas as soon as the consummation of annexation would enable them to execute their promises. Among the most distinguished of these official agents were ex-Governor Yell of Arkansas, General Wickliff of Kentucky, Commodore Stockton of the United States navy. The promises were among other things to clear out our rivers for navigation, to deepen the entrances of our harbors, to build light houses on our coast for commerce, to erect military works, fortifications for the defense of the coast, to execute important works of internal improvement, and to do various and sundry other good things for Texas which were beyond our means, or which they could do for us better than we of ourselves could. . . . Employment, wealth, prosperity would reign in the land. Here in the west lay the inexhaustible Orient. It would afford the administration at Washington the greatest pleasure to do in one word all goodly things for us.

I can vouch for these facts. They are known to me of personal knowledge. Major Donelson and Governor Yell expatiated on these promises in my hearing. . . . I have the authority of the late Honorable Ebenezer Allen, . . . secretary of state under President Anson Jones, for the fact that General Wickliff and Commodore Stockton were employed in the same mission of scattering promises broadcast through the land. Public opinion was rapidly manufactured. Public meetings were called by active partisans and at the instigation of the gentlemen just named; the magnificent promises were unfolded; . . . the people were inflamed. . . . The administration agents just mentioned were unstinted in promises, addressed directly to active politicians . . . of appointments to office by the federal administration as soon as Texas should be a state . . .

Under these influences, relying on the promises made by the federal officials, and animated by affection for the country of their birth, the strongest after all of the motives governing their actions, the people of Texas with overwhelming unanimity rejected the overtures of peace from Mexico . . . and became a state of the American union.

I need not . . . say that neither the promises of offices to individuals . . . nor the promises of generosity and munificence to Texas, have in aught or in any degree been fulfilled. I now recall as their only bestowal two incorrect and calumnious letters published by President Tyler after the close of his term of office.³³

personality, his relations to Houston involving the influence of Andrew Jackson, his knowledge of the "various cliques and factions," and his ability "to marshall the friends of annexation in a firm and menacing array." Smith does not go beyond stating these generalities, and offers no explanation of Donelson's "marshalling" ability.

³³Ashbel Smith, *Reminiscences of the Texas Republic* (1876), 76, 77. Smith's last allusion is doubtless to Tyler's letters on the annexation written in 1847, which were replied to by Anson Jones.

President Jones also complains that Donelson

and the emissaries of Mr. Polk sent to act with him, had so far succeeded with the Congress of Texas and the Convention, that both those bodies were believed to be perfectly subservient to him, and that they would do his bidding in every thing. The secret of this belief in his influence was the lavish promise of office to members. I have been told by very reliable authority that there was not a single member who was not thus assailed. In his letter to Mr. Buchanan of 2d July, 1845, he speaks of the passage of a law over the veto of the President . . . as a thing which would have been done if he had insisted on it.³⁴

The American agents had secret, oral orders. Polk wrote to Donelson, the regular Minister, on March 28, 1845, that Governor Yell (who had left for Texas on March 10 bearing the instructions confirming Tyler's)

will put you in possession of facts which may aid you in effecting the object of your mission, and which could not be embraced in the dispatch itself. . . . Having proceeded directly from Washington he will be able to inform you of the disposition of the parties here on the Texian question, and of the determination of the Executive Government to effect annexation by all honorable means of which it can avail itself without compromising the national honour. Recent information received here will make it necessary to send another messenger with a dispatch to you in two or three days. Hon. Charles A. Wickliffe, who designs visiting Texas with a view to emigrate to it, will be the bearer of the dispatch. He has *my confidence* and will be entitled to yours. He took a very active part in negotiating the Treaty last year, and will be able to give you valuable information.³⁵

Even Wickliffe's written instructions are sufficiently suggestive. They anticipate "the greatest obstacle in the way of annexation" in the form of British and French activities and authorize Wickliffe to

use such arguments . . . as you may deem best adapted to convince the authorities and people of Texas that their re-union with the United States will promote and secure their own best interests . . . Under the broad banner of the Union, they will be relieved from foreign influence . . . their peculiar institutions will be protected against the attacks of English and French fanatics; the emigration of their brethren from the United States will be greatly enhanced,

³⁴Anson Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas*, 76.

³⁵Polk Donelson, March 28, 1845, in *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, III, 62, 63. Wickliffe had been Postmaster-General under Tyler.

and . . . the sister Republic in union will proceed on a career of prosperity such as the world has never witnessed. *If some of the conditions in the second joint resolution for annexation may seem unreasonable, there can be no doubt but that prompt justice will be done to Texas in a liberal spirit.*³⁶

Ashbel Smith says that President Jones refused to consider the dubious promises of future munificence until Donelson received additional instructions from Washington authorizing him to give Polk's definite assurances. Then they were thought to have some substance.³⁷ Jones' diary for early April, 1845, is corroborative of his skepticism:

The Indian policy of the United States should be extended over Texas in the event of annexation. Ask Mr. Donelson for the 'guarantees.' . . . Will the United States insist on the boundary of the Rio Grande for Texas? Public debt of Mexico. Will the United States assume a ratable portion of it, if Mexico should insist on it? . . . If Texas is so 'necessary to the welfare, safety, and prosperity of the United States,' they should give an equivalent for the boon. . . . Texas may well fear that, if the United States are *close* when *wooing*, they will prove *niggardly* when *married*. Mr. Donelson thinks the terms are hard, but thinks they will be made more favorable hereafter. The President [Jones] sees no hope of this.³⁸

Polk wrote concerning Texas to Donelson on May 6: "We desire most anxiously that she will accept the offer as made to her, and if she does, she may rely upon our magnanimity and sense of justice toward her. We will act in a way that will satisfy her."³⁹ Accordingly, Jones declared in his message of June 16 to the Texas Congress:

Although the terms embraced in the resolutions of the United States Congress may at first have appeared less favorable than was desirable for Texas, the very liberal and magnanimous views entertained by the President of the United States towards Texas, and the promises made through the representatives of that country, in regard to the future advantages to be extended to her if she consent

³⁶Secretary of State Buchanan to Wickliffe, March 27, 1845, MS., in Department of State, Washington, D.C.; transcript in the University of Texas Library. My italics.

³⁷*Inducements for the Annexation of Texas to the United States, and the Pledges Made by That Government to Texas, Fully Shown by Letters from Cols. Guy M. Bryan and Ashbel Smith* (Galveston, 1876), 10.

³⁸Jones, *Memoranda*, 137.

³⁹S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* (2 ed.), III, 120.

to the proposed union, render those terms much more acceptable than they would otherwise have been.

Texas looked forward, after accepting annexation, to an early fulfillment of Polk's golden promises. Jones urged his official connection with them as a reason why Texas should send him as one of her first Senators to Washington:

There is one respect in which I could be of more service to Texas in the Senate than any other person. The verbal promises made by Mr. Polk of what the U. S. would do for this country in the event of annexation were made to *me only* by Gov. Yell who was sent here for that express purpose. It is of *infinite importance* to this country that those pledges should be fulfilled. I alone know of them, and if I should be at the city of Washington there could be no *misunderstanding* of those pledges—and no backing out . . . The boundary question is of this category. The improvement of our bays and harbors and . . . protection of our coast, building of fortifications, &c &c.⁴⁰

The British agent in Texas, Charles Elliot, was aware of all this:

The executive of the United States is fully committed to the expectations raised by Major Donelson's correspondence with the Government of Texas, especially as to the provision for their debt . . . [and] territorial pretensions. . . . Major Donelson found it necessary to address a letter to this effect to two leading Members of the late Convention at Austin (whose names are known to me) to secure their support. . . . Mr. Polk has subsequently authorized the Agents of Texas at Washington to communicate to their Government his unreserved adoption of Major Donelson's pledges, and his determination to use all the influence of the Administration to give them full effect.⁴¹

The two influential Texans referred to were J. P. Henderson and J. S. Mayfield.⁴²

Jones' anxiety lest the United States lose her generous zeal to please Texas after the marriage proved only too prophetic. The chagrin of Smith and Jones because the fulfillment neither came

⁴⁰Anson Jones to Moses Johnson, December 18, 1845, in Moses Johnson MSS. (in the University of Texas Library).

⁴¹Elliot to Lord Aberdeen, November 26, 1845, in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XX, 397, 398.

⁴²Donelson's letters to Henderson and Mayfield are given by C. T. Neu in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West: Historical Contributions Presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton*, II, 97-102. Donelson moreover reported to Secretary Buchanan on August 14, 1845, that he had written a letter to John Hemphill, the Chief Justice of Texas, "and also to Mr. Allen, the Secretary of State, explaining our policy." *Ho. Docs*, 29 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pp. 97, 98.

nor was even attempted by Polk was shared also by Texas Congressman W. D. Miller, who late in 1846 wrote Jones from the national capital:

You have seen ere this that little or nothing was done for Texas during the last session of Congress, and I apprehend but little more may be expected in the future. There was not a *dollar* appropriated either for the Indians, the coast, or the frontier. The indemnity due was perhaps not seriously thought of beyond the limits of our own delegation. That it will ever be paid I think rather doubtful. . . . If Donelson were here, I would ask him to do me the favor to show me some evidence of the 'magnanimity and generosity' of his Government, about which he made so many professions and pledges.

And again, on December 9:

The improvement of our harbors and rivers, and the erection of fortifications and light-houses, so broadly pledged by Major Donelson to the people of Texas on the part of his Government, are not destined in my opinion, to an early accomplishment. . . . The President, I perceive, has not recommended any measures of this character to the attention of Congress; and the antipathy of the Whig party towards Texas is so strong, they will assuredly exert their strength in thwarting any attempt to do any thing, however just.⁴³

Texas was thus left "holding the sack." Jones privately expressed his intention in 1847 of writing the history of annexation, exposing Polk's light promises among other things. Ashbel Smith applauded the project, declaring that "the solemn truth, in all its amplitude, should be given fearlessly to the world."⁴⁴ Finally, by the famous Compromise act of 1850, Texas received a belated measure of justice.

⁴³Miller to Jones, Washington, September 27, December 9, 1846, in Jones, *Memoranda*, 511, 512.

⁴⁴Smith to Jones, November 29, 1847, in *ibid.*, 516, 517.

THE FUSION OF WHITE, NEGRO, AND INDIAN CULTURES AT THE CONVERGING OF THE NEW SOUTH AND THE WEST

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As the term "social organization" is used in this paper, it is to be understood as the fitting together of somewhat heterogeneous cultural and racial elements into socio-political groups possessing fairly uniform similarities as aggregates which together may be described as a cultural area. In other words, social organization means the integration and coördination of cultural and racial factors within a population in such a way that a social system may be possible. It is the process of social evolution by which discrete biological and cultural traits have found their place in the structural and functional mechanisms of the social order.

The region specified in the title of this study is somewhat imaginary in character and extent. But, based on similarities of flora and fauna, origins of the population, and social institutional history, it may be confined to the present states of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. While the natural environments found in these areas are by no means identical, they are all alike dependent upon cotton as the chief crop, and have all attained about the same degree of industrialization. There are, however, vast differences in the pre-statehood histories of these states, and their rates of

TABLE I

HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF POLITICAL EXPANSION IN THE
SOUTHWEST FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF
FUSION OF CULTURES¹

Date	Racial or Cultural Group	Area	Activities
1528	Spanish	Texas coast	Cabeza de Vaca traversed south Texas enroute to Mexico City. First negro slaves entered the Southwest.
1539-1541	Spanish	Texas-Oklahoma	Explorations by Coronado and the conquistadores.
1682	Spanish	Texas	Settlement made at Ysleta.
1685	French	Texas	LaSalle attempted to plant a colony at Fort St. Louis on Lavaca Bay but was unsuccessful.
1686	French	Arkansas	Tonti made a settlement at Arkansas Post.

Date	Racial or Cultural Group	Area	Activities
1690	Spanish	Texas	De Leon and Franciscan friars made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony near the present site of Crockett.
1716-1731	Spanish	Texas	Built a chain of missions from Nacogdoches toward the Rio Grande.
1718	Spanish	Texas	San Antonio founded.
1734-1757	Spanish	Texas	Friars concentrated their energies among the Apache Indians. Wars with the Comanches.
1762 1768-1780	French and Spanish, Wichita Indians	Texas and Louisiana	France ceded her claims on Texas to Spain. Wichita Indians captured Apaches and sold them as slaves in Louisiana. Also they herded wild horses and drove them to Louisiana.
1772	Spanish	Texas	Missions in East Texas suppressed.
1794	Spanish	Texas	Complete secularization of the missions by the Spanish crown.
1686-1803	French	Oklahoma-Arkansas	The territories were occupied by traders who built small settlements at Pine Bluff, Little Rock, Dardanelles, and other Arkansas points. Exploration of the Arkansas and tributary rivers. Intermarriage with Indians common. Region was part of the Louisiana Territory.
1803	French and Americans	Louisiana Territory	Louisiana purchased from France by United States Government.
1800-1805	Anglo-Americans	Oklahoma-Arkansas	First American migration to Arkansas and penetration as far west as Oklahoma.
1797-1820 } 1800-1821 }	Anglo-Americans French pirates under Jean Lafitte	Texas	Filibustering horse traders and Indian fighters entered Texas. First invasion but not a period of permanent settlement. Slave trade flourished from Galveston Island as a base through Texas toward New Orleans.
1817	Anglo-Americans	Arkansas River Valley	Military post established at Fort Smith for protection of scattered whites and west Cherokees from the hostile Osage Indians of the north. Later became a civilian settlement.
1821-1835	Anglo-Americans	Texas	Colonization under the leadership of Stephen F. Austin and others.
1821-1824	Spanish-Mexicans	Mexico-Texas	Mexican war of Independence. Mexico assumed control of Texas and initiated a new colonial policy.

Date	Racial or Cultural Group	Area	Activities
1820-1930	American Indians (Five civilized tribes and Negro slaves)	Oklahoma and western Arkansas in the vicinity of Fort Smith	Federal government moved the five civilized tribes from east of the Mississippi and settled them in the Indian Territory, now eastern Oklahoma. Indians brought negro slavery into Oklahoma.
1836-1845	Anglo-Americans	Texas	Struggle for independence and period of the Republic. Rapid Anglo-American immigration, slavery was legalized and the culture of the South acquired in part.
1830-1889	Indian and Negroes Anglo-Americans	Oklahoma	Tribal governments set up in the Indian territory, western Indians moved from Texas into Oklahoma Territory. Indian territory a domicile for freedmen. An era of Christian missionaries and military supervision.
1820-1836	Anglo-Americans	Arkansas	Organization and colonization of the Arkansas territory. Statehood, 1836. Colonization from the old South, transporting Negro slavery westward.
1836-1889	Anglo-Americans Indians Negroes	Arkansas-Oklahoma-Texas	Period of socio-political development. Expansion of agriculture and community organization. Political formation.
1890	Anglo-Americans Indians Negroes	Arkansas-Oklahoma-Texas	Post Reconstruction expansion, industrial development. Oklahoma opened for settlement to whites and to statehood in 1907.

¹Sources: Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel Wright, *Oklahoma*, Vol. I, pp. 21-25. George P. Garrison, *Texas: A Contest of Civilizations*, pp. 20-25, 34-53 on the French in Texas; pp. 1-4, 53-75 on the Spanish; pp. 110-153 on Anglo-American Invasions, U. S. Census, 1930, population bulletin, 1st series, pp. 2-3. Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Southwest*, pp. 33-46; R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. 13, p. 135; *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 298; Vol. 13, p. 111, fn. 80; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Southern Historical Society, *The South in the Building of the Nation*, on slave trade, Vol. III, pp. 351-353; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 29. H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, Vol. 1, p. 21. R. G. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, p. 121, Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fn. p. 297. For official data on the number of slaves, see Bureau of Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, pub. 1918, p. 57.

Note: This paper was read before the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society in Philadelphia, December 28, 1933.

economic development could not be depicted by the same types of growth curves. The great demographic similarities of these three states arise from their being areas of absorption of the secondary migration of the Anglo-Saxon stocks who had settled east of the Mississippi River and south of the Mason and Dixon line at various times during the colonial period. An exception to this may be made for Oklahoma, which was settled by a tertiary wave of migration originating mostly in Arkansas and Texas, which was reënforced by migration from Missouri and Kansas.

In common with the rest of the United States, the aboriginal culture of this area was of Indian origin. However, in Oklahoma, with the exception of the Wichitas, it is thought that there were few or no Indians at any time prior to the coming of the Europeans. The French and the Spanish appeared in this area prior to the Anglo-Americans, who were the third cultural groups to enter it. The fourth population group was the Negro. The cultural foundation of the Southwest is of four major parts, American Indian, Latin or Franco-Hispanic, Anglo-American, and Afro-American. There are also scattered fragments of Teutonic and other linguistic groups especially in Texas.

In as much as political history furnishes a fundamental part of the data in this study, a rough summary of the more important historical events connected with the development of the region is given in Table I for the purpose of showing something of the pressure exerted by different peoples in trying to gain a foothold on the land comprising this region.

Probably the net result of the Latin invasion of the Southwest can never be measured completely. However, a survey of the historical data shows that several sociological results followed it either directly or indirectly. First, they blazed trails which were later used in military and colonizing expeditions. Second, the Spanish and the French were indirectly responsible for the introduction and encouragement of slavery both of the Indians and the Negroes. Third, they built settlements, mostly of a temporary character which made future settlements by the Anglo-Americans easier. Fourth, they built fortresses of a religious and military nature which later served the American immigrants to a good advantage. Fifth, they introduced domestic animals, tools, weapons and other European traits to the Indians which made their resistance to the Americans more obstinate, and sixth, they taught the Indians at least a smattering of the Christian religion.

In all of these culture contacts the seeds of stubborn conflicts with the Anglo-Americans were sown profusely, especially in Texas. A seventh point may be added. The Latin elements thus planted remain visible in the form of the old Spanish system of land measurement in Texas, and an appreciable colorization of south-western culture in the persistence of place names.

The value of place names in the scientific analysis of culture cannot be regarded as entirely unimpeachable, but it cannot be wholly discredited. A check on the derivation of place names in these three states has been made on the basis of an unselected list of a sizeable number from each state. In all, 6,000 names were studied and divided according to linguistic origin. The results of this classification are given in Table II.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE NAMES BY LINGUISTIC ORIGINAL IN TEXAS, OKLAHOMA AND ARKANSAS

State	Total Names	Anglo-American	Latin-American	American Indian	Teutonic and Miscellaneous
Total	6,000	74.5	11.9	7.3	6.3
Texas	2,272	69.2	16.7	4.0	10.1
Oklahoma	1,791	76.4	4.9	14.1	4.6
Arkansas	1,937	80.3	12.5	3.8	3.4

While the classification of place names as given here is at best a rough approximation, it is believed that the results obtained give at least a mental picture of the relative importance of various stocks in building the early cultural pattern of the Southwest. It is true that in Texas the secondary Hispanic migration from Mexico is probably as much or more responsible for the prominence of Latin culture in that state as was the original Spanish explorers and missionaries. Oklahoma and Arkansas have received only negligible numbers of migrants from the Latin-American countries, while at present there are around 700,000 Mexicans in Texas alone. In many municipalities and counties of Texas the political governments have rested traditionally in the hands of Mexican officers. The fact that 25 per cent of the religious population of Texas is Roman Catholic is due much more to this secondary Latin migration than to the work of the Spanish padres, there being only about 5,000 white people in the territory when the missions were secularized. In both Oklahoma and Arkansas the Latin tint in the culture is predominantly of French origin.

In Arkansas and Texas the traces of Indian culture appearing in place names are very slight, while in Oklahoma they are appreciable owing to the removal of approximately half of the Indians in the United States to the territory and their establishment of civil governments long before the whites were allowed to make settlements in the area.

There are tangible traces of Teutonic culture in these states, concentrated mostly in south Texas. These peoples came during the latter part of the nineteenth century and had little to do with building the present culture. They annexed the existing culture at first, and absorbed it later. The German and Scandinavian stocks are usually more readily assimilated into the population than are the Latin peoples.

The Negro, like the present day Indian in the Southwest, went there by virtue of circumstances beyond his control. Most of the original Negroes of Oklahoma were slaves of the Indians, while in Arkansas and Texas they were in a similar position with respect to the Anglo-American migrants from the Old South. Early travelers in Oklahoma reported 1,893 Negro slaves among the Indians of eastern Oklahoma in 1839. However, Major Francis W. Armstrong estimated the number at from 4,500 to 5,000 by 1832.² The Cherokee Indians were among the first to introduce Negro slavery into Arkansas, but only in a small way. There were 1,617 Negro slaves in Arkansas in 1820, and by 1860 there were 111,115. No data on the number of slaves in Texas can be had for an earlier date than 1850, at which time there were 58,161, and the number was increased to 182,566 in 1860. For 1860, Negro slaves accounted for 25.5 per cent of the total population of Arkansas and 30.2 per cent of that of Texas.

Whatever may have been the social and economic value of the early Negro to the white slave owner, he was of much greater relative consequence to the Indian, for he was a carrier of white culture and a schoolmaster in Indian society. The situation between the Indian master and the Negro slave was somewhat analogous to that of the ancient Roman master with his Greek slave.

²R. G. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, p. 121. See Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fn. p. 297, for Armstrong's report, an original copy of which was not available to the writer. The disagreement of these estimates is of no consequence in this discussion. It seems established that the early contacts of the Indian and Negro races were first established east of the Mississippi River and that their struggles in Oklahoma were waged simultaneously and with each other.

The slave was the tutor of the master. Especially was this true with the Cherokees.³

The post-Civil War period and the emancipation brought on intense antagonism between the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws and their former slaves.⁴ The Creeks and Seminoles, however, admitted the freedmen into their tribes and intermarried with them rather freely. The federal government refused to recognize the rights of Negroes to hold land in the tribal allotments and subjected them to the jurisdiction of the federal court for the western district of Arkansas, except in such cases where the Negro could prove that he was of mixed blood. The racial conflicts and the policy of the government, no doubt, were responsible for the appearance of a number of exclusive Negro settlements in Oklahoma, at least three of which remain at the present time.⁵

The Negro settlements in Arkansas and Texas have usually been made as satellites around those of the whites in the towns and have been widely dispersed among them on the farms. For the most part the same is true for Oklahoma, except where the settlement was reinforced by the location of state institutions for Negroes. By far and large, the Negro has confined himself to the cotton sections either actually on the farms or in towns conveniently located with respect to them. He has seldom gone into the wheat or ranching areas in great numbers.

The Negro in the Southwest is more dependent upon organized religious connections than the white race. This is also probably true when the Negro and the Indian are compared. However, there are no reliable statistics on Indian church affiliation. The figures in Table III show that the percentage Negroes comprised of the total church membership in this area is consistently higher than that of Negroes in the total population, except for Texas, where the two ratios are about equal.

In explanation of this it may be said that for a long time the American Negro has found religion the chief social agency open to him. The lodge, the school, the 4-H Club, and various other organizations resembling those of the whites have grown up in

³For a brief but interesting discussion of this see, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, *Fifth Annual Report, 1883-1884*, pp. 321-322.

⁴See U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report, 1866*, p. 284.

⁵See Annie Heloise Abel, *The Indian as a Slaveholder and a Secessionist*, p. 23.

recent years to supplement the church, and it seems reasonable to suppose that in the future the Negro will exhibit an increasing tendency to find his diversion outside the church. However, his native temperament is such that religion always may be expected to play a predominant role among his social activities.

TABLE III

EXCESS OF PER CENT OF CHURCH MEMBERS WHO ARE NEGROES
OVER THE PER CENT OF NEGROES IN THE
TOTAL POPULATION

(Source: U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1906, Pt. I, p. 540; 1916, Pt. I, p. 526; 1926, Pt. I, p. 722, also 1926, Pt. I, p. 314)

State	1926	1916	1906
Total	6.4	8.9	2.5
Arkansas	8.4	14.5	5.8
Oklahoma	4.6	6.7	2.7
Texas	.7	6.1	0.0

To the Indian the white man's religion is a puzzle. When he has accepted it, he has merely added it to that he already had. A religion like Christianity is a mystery, and his attitude toward it is one of resignation to bewilderment. In like manner, the native arts of healing are practiced simultaneously with those of the white doctors, and sometimes with effects equally as favorable. The Indian youth makes a fair competitor with the white in the 4-H Club contests in which both participate on equal terms, but the old men retain much of their skepticism and indifference with regard to the new technologies offered them.*

In education the Negro and the Indian both have been subjected to handicaps. School support for them has been poor. The Negro has been segregated by law and the Indian by timidity. However, from an inspection of Table IV it will be revealed that the Negro has shown about as great, in some cases a much greater, decline in illiteracy as the white race, although he still has much further to go than the whites in wiping illiteracy entirely out. Both public and private agencies have exerted greater effort since the World War than before in trying to promote Negro education.

*See also, Jennings, J. and Clyde Russell Rhyne, *The Southwest: A Laboratory for Social Research*, Swn. Pol. and Soc. Sci. Quart., X, June, 1929, p. 37.

While Table V does not show trends in Indian education, it does reveal that the problem of illiteracy is now comparatively less strained among the Indian than with most of the other minor racial groups of the population. The education of the Indian has

TABLE IV

PERCENT OF ILLITERACY IN POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY RACE AND NATIONALITY GROUPS

(Source: U. S. Census, 1930, Vol. II, Table 12, p. 1231)

Population Classes	Arkansas			Oklahoma			Texas		
	1930	1920	1910	1930	1920	1910	1930	1920	1910
All classes	6.8	9.4	12.6	2.8	3.8	5.6	6.8	8.3	9.9
Native white of native parentage	3.5	4.6	7.1	1.8	2.4	3.5	1.4	2.2	3.3
Native white of foreign parentage	1.9	2.0	2.8	0.9	1.2	4.3	2.1	9.4	11.6
Foreign born white	16.6	8.3	8.9	5.6	14.0	9.8	7.3	33.8	30.0
Negro	16.1	21.8	26.4	9.3	12.4	17.7	13.4	17.8	24.6

TABLE V

ILLITERACY IN POPULATIONS OF MINOR RACES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1930

(Source: U. S. Census, 1930, Vol. II, Table 17, p. 1255)

Racial Group	Total	Arkansas	Oklahoma	Texas
All groups	31.1	19.6	13.1	33.6
Mexican	33.9	33.6	37.0	33.8
Indian	11.3	8.9	11.2	18.3
Chinese	13.8	14.9	10.5	14.4
Japanese	5.2	—	—	5.2
Filipino	3.6	—	—	3.6

not yet been placed entirely into the hands of the states. It is to a great extent a function of the federal government. However, in practice the white public schools are open to Indians. A number of states already, Oklahoma being one of them, are almost ready to assume responsibility for Indian education.⁷ The arrangements have been made whereby state compulsory school laws are applied to Indians. In the branches of higher education

⁷An undated circular from the U. S. office of Indian affairs (evidently released since 1930) contains the information that of 103,000 Indian children of school age, 89,000 are in some school, and of those in school 50,000 are attending state supported public schools.

the Indian has made a start, and he finds the doors of the college open to him. Probably the ultimate disposal of the problem of educating the Indian youth will be to absorb him directly into the schools attended by the whites.

The trend in school attendance for racial divisions as given by the census is shown in Table VI. Recently the Negro has far outstripped the general population in the relative advancement he has made in education during the past twenty or thirty years. There have been several factors contributing to this. First, tolerance for the Negro has increased, questionable as this may appear. Second, there seems to be greater racial pride on the part of the Negro himself. Third, the effects of acculturation appear to be cumulative. Fourth, the passing of compulsory school laws since 1910, despite lax enforcement, has increased school attendance among all races, and fifth, the coming of the Negro high school has extended the opportunity of the race for education.⁸ There is only one foreign born group of noticeable relative size in the population of the Southwest. This is the Mexican population,

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS 7 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE
ATTENDING SCHOOL

(Source: U. S. Census, 1930, Vol. II, Ch. 12, pp. 1101, 1106-1107)

Population Classes	Arkansas			Oklahoma			Texas		
	1930	1920	1910	1930	1920	1910	1930	1920	1910
All groups	71.8	65.8	60.2	75.2	68.6	69.6	69.1	64.8	61.2
Native white of native parents ..	73.4	70.1	64.6	75.6	69.3	70.4	74.3	69.7	66.5
Native white of mixed parents	72.0	66.4	62.6	74.2	69.9	70.5	66.8	52.4	50.2
Foreign born white	61.9	41.7	34.9	59.7	34.3	43.1	56.0	27.8	24.4
Negro	67.2	54.7	49.9	72.0	61.6	65.1	66.1	64.2	54.4

which resides almost entirely in Texas. Their presence constitutes, socially at least, a distinct racial group, and explains why the school attendance of the foreign born whites has been low in

⁸In Texas which has a less favorable record on Negro education than either Oklahoma or Arkansas, there was an increase of 62.5 per cent in high school enrollment, an increase of 135.5 per cent in the number reaching the fourth year, and of 294.4 per cent in the number of graduates from Negro high schools between 1924 and 1931. See 27th Bien. Report, State Dept. Ed. Bull. 314, 1933, p. 107.

the past. There are several important reasons why Mexicans have not attended school as well as other heterogeneous elements. First, their residence in one locality is usually temporary. Second, in Texas there are appreciable aversions to their attendance in white schools, especially where they are numerous, and few Mexican schools were provided. Third, they are Roman Catholics and are slow to enter the public schools. Fourth, an overwhelming majority of them live in indescribable poverty, often subsisting in the border towns largely by ransacking garbage pails and rubbish heaps. Fifth, they are reluctant to learn the English language, and until about 1925 the Texas law forbade the teaching of foreign languages, not to mention their exclusive use, in the elementary schools. Modification of that law for the benefit of the border counties with large Mexican populations so that the Mexican children could be taught in their own language has done much to increase school attendance among them.

The data in Table VII are given for the purpose of showing the nature and structure of the population of the Southwest as defined in this paper. It does not separate the teutonic and slavic

TABLE VII

TOTAL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
RACIAL STOCKS AS ADJUSTED BY THE
CENSUS BUREAU BY STATES

(Source: U. S. Census 1930, Vol. II, Ch. 2, Table 17, p. 44)

STATE and RACIAL GROUP	CENSUS YEAR		
	1930	1920	1910
Total for area	10,075,237	8,443,715	7,128,146
White	77.2	78.4	77.9
Negro	14.9	16.1	17.8
Mexican	6.7	4.7	3.2
Indian, Chinese, etc.	1.2	.8	1.1
Arkansas	1,854,482	1,752,204	1,574,449
White	74.1	—	—
Negro	25.8	—	—
Mexican	—	—	—
Indian, Chinese, etc.	0.1	—	.1
Oklahoma	2,396,040	2,028,283	1,657,155
White	88.6	89.4	87.0
Negro	7.2	7.4	8.3
Mexican	.3	.4	.2
Indian, Chinese, etc.	3.9	2.8	4.5
Texas	5,824,715	4,663,228	3,896,542
White	73.5	75.7	76.4
Negro	14.7	15.9	17.7
Mexican	11.7	8.3	5.8
Indian, Chinese, etc.	.1	.1	.1

groups, of which there are a good many in absolute numbers, but only a small number relatively. These nationalities are usually easily assimilated into the total population in comparison with Mexicans, Chinese, Indians, and other distinctly racial elements. Outside of Texas, except for the Indians in Oklahoma, the non-Anglo-American stocks are of little consequence either socially or statistically. In Texas, as in Oklahoma, the racial situation is three-fold rather than dual as in most of the other southern states.

In the fusion of cultures that has taken place in the area of this study since 1528, there are many noticeable contributions that have come from each racial and cultural group. The aboriginal Indians were mostly people of crude culture. They gave the Europeans very little help in a technological sense. They had marked off trails and located fresh water supplies which were attractive. Their legends of fabulous cities of gold and other minerals proved to be imaginary. They aided in promoting the slave trade, and taught the early conquistadores the uses of several plants and wild animals which were good for food, but on the whole they were hunters rather than agriculturists.⁹ Agricultural Indians lived mostly south of the St. Lawrence and east of the Mississippi Rivers, only small areas of developed agriculture being found in the Southwest.¹⁰

The Spanish influence in the area may be roughly summarized by (1) the missions and settlements of the padres in trying to convert the Indians to Christianity, (2) the establishment of fortresses and sites for Anglo-American settlements, (3) the marking of trails and explorations of rivers which later served as transportation routes, (4) the first introduction of the European culture, weapons, animals, clothing, utensils and other material objects to the Indians, and (5) the introduction of agriculture into the region.

Whitaker says, "along with the soldier, priest, gold miner, and war horse, the ships that sailed from Seville bore the beasts of burden, the wheat, the sugar cane, the millwrights and the farm laborers of old Spain to establish Spanish agriculture in the Indies."¹¹

⁹See H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, Vol. I, pp. 21, 23, 48, 85, 297; Vol. II, p. 144 ff.

¹⁰J. W. Powell, *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, 7th Annual Report, 1885-86, (Pub. 1891) p. 41.

¹¹Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture*, *Agricultural History*, III, Jan. 1929, pp. 1-15.

The same author also relates that in the new world the Spanish contributions to American agriculture included a land system which was more liberal than that of the Anglo-Americans, and that they officially discouraged the evolution of slavery and encouraged the cultivation of indigenous crops, particularly cotton, corn and cacao.¹²

From the standpoint of agricultural society the direct influence of the French west of the Sabine River has been comparatively small. They discovered trade routes, scouted, established trading posts, and spotted favorable locations for settlements which were later taken over by the Anglo-Americans and developed. They taught the Indian their military arts, and traded their goods for his furs. Their influence upon the Indian in a demographic sense was comparatively great. At the present time French family names are common among the Osage, Delaware and other tribes. They left the missionary work in this region to the Spanish and later the English stocks, concentrating their own efforts more toward the lower and the upper Mississippi valleys, keeping within fairly close range of the river.

The economic and political development of the territory has been the work of the Anglo-American stocks, assisted by the Negro and at the expense of the Indian. What the Indian has gained by way of culture and breeding he has lost in lands, self-government and racial vigor. The contacts of the Indian and the English were begun prior to the coming of either to the Southwest. The missionaries who came to the Cherokee country a century ago were surprised to find that Oglethorpe's colonists had outdistanced them by a hundred years. The politicians found that the western Cherokees and Choctaws were in possession of a system of government much like that in Washington. The problem with the Indian was to put him on his land allotment and keep him there. The Anglo-American's biggest job in this region has been that of civilizing himself. Educationally and culturally the development of the region differs little from other sections of the country. The unique aspects of social organization in the Southwest have never consisted in the multiplicity of heterogeneous elements, but in the distinctiveness of each of a few dissociated racial and cultural groups which have been and are being synthesized into a psycho-social entity.

¹²*Ibid.*

LEGISLATION FOR MISSOURI COUNTIES

BY WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW

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An effort to modernize Missouri county government was recently made in the General Assembly. At least 50 of the 225 laws enacted, as well as about one-fourth of the 960 bills introduced, directly concern county government. The more significant of this legislation for counties will be analyzed in this article. Brief consideration will also be given to a few important bills which failed to pass.¹

Most of these bills were prepared by a bi-partisan Committee on Taxation and Governmental Reform, as a part of its economy program for state and local government. This committee, appointed and financed by the Missouri Farmers' Association, was composed of ten veteran legislators. Three of the members were senators, and seven were representatives. The committee apportioned its work among sub-committees of three members each, a chairman, and a secretary, who was not a member of the committee. It was the duty of the chairman and the secretary to secure data for the sub-committees on state, municipal, and county government respectively and to coördinate their work. After holding several regional hearings and numerous conferences, the committee prepared two constitutional amendments and agreed upon 27 general legislative proposals.

The amendments, providing for an executive budget and a simplification of legislative procedure, were adopted by large popular majorities at the general election on November 8, 1932. The individual members of the committee prepared some 100 bills to carry out the legislative proposals. The more important of these bills were turned over to the governor, who, following his election, adopted a large part of the committee's program. These bills were introduced for the governor by the floor leaders of the House and Senate. Consequently one cannot always distinguish them from other administration measures. Similarly one cannot always tell whether a bill introduced by an individual member of

¹This article refers to laws enacted and bills considered in the regular, 1933, session of the General Assembly, being written soon after its adjournment. A special session has since been held, which enacted a sales tax, a liquor law, and several less important measures.

the M. F. A. committee incorporates its views or merely his own personal opinions.

The adoption of the M. F. A. program by the governor was politically expedient both for him and the committee. The governor had not had time to work out a legislative program of his own, having been drafted from the circuit bench just three weeks before his election, due to the sudden death of the Democratic nominee. Naturally the M. F. A. committee was glad to turn over to the governor as many of its bills as he was willing to sponsor. It was an effective way of getting them passed, which was the ultimate goal.

The program had already gained wide popular support through the efforts of the Missouri Farmers' Association, one of the most effective "pressure organizations" in the state. It had been endorsed in principle by both political parties, the County Judges' Association, and other organizations. During the session, legislators received daily numerous petitions requesting them to support in its entirety the M. F. A. economy program.

It is significant that most of the administration measures were also approved in principle, if not in detail, by the Missouri Organization for Reduction of Taxes and Public Expenditures. This organization was established by several Chambers of Commerce and the Associated Industries. It held a series of 13 district conferences, perfecting an organization in each district, and in some 100 counties. Its executive, legislative, and research committees made a careful study of the proposals of the M. F. A. committee, the County Judges' Association, and other organizations. The committees then formulated a comprehensive program of legislative recommendations for simplifying administrative activities and controlling public expenditures. In the end, however, they did not prepare and introduce separate bills to carry out this program, the M. F. A. committee having gained the ear of the governor and wide popular support, as already explained.

We turn now from political considerations to the program itself. The most important law for counties confers upon the state auditor supervisory authority concerning county records. He must audit each office, without expense to the county, at least once during each regular term, except in two counties (Buchanan and Greene), which have county auditors. Buchanan or Greene county may be audited by the state auditor once in any year, at its own expense, if requested by a petition representing at least

5 per cent of the votes cast for governor in that county in the preceding election. Heretofore, a state or a private audit of any county office was made at county expense, when requested by the county court (*i.e.*, the Missouri county board) or by a petition of 300 or more taxpayers. Recent data shows that the state auditor has audited on an average one or more offices in only five counties per year, and that private audits have been made even less frequently.

Under the new law, the state auditor must formulate a complete system of bookkeeping for each county office and institution. It must be uniform for offices of the same grade and accounts of the same kind. He must also devise for publication a uniform county financial statement for the fiscal year ending December 31. In spite of the numerous details required by another law, he should devise a statement showing functional costs. One would then be able to secure comparable financial data and devise an intelligent economy and efficiency program for counties. Heretofore, official records, financial statements, and fiscal years have varied from county to county, making reliable comparisons impossible.

The chief defect in this legislation is the limitation of the auditor's field force to ten examiners. Ten examiners can barely make a beginning. They cannot possibly audit and install uniform records in all state and county offices and institutions by January 1, 1935, as required.

The county budget law is perhaps second in importance. It has different provisions for the two classes of counties, 50,000 population being the dividing line. In either case, the budget must show the estimated income, proposed expenditures, property valuations, tax rates, bonded indebtedness, outstanding warrants, bills not yet allowed, and funds in the treasury. The provisions requiring county officials to submit to the budget officer estimates of necessary appropriations for the ensuing year are also similar.

The provisions differ in several respects. In the 109 smaller counties, the county clerk is budget officer. In the five larger ones, the presiding judge of the county court is the budget officer, unless the court confers the duty upon the clerk. In either case no additional compensation is given for this work. The provisions for hearings on the budget also differ. In a smaller county the court must give a hearing to the persons affected, if it alters certain items. In a larger county a public hearing is mandatory

upon the budget officer in preparing the budget and upon the court in its adoption. Copies of the budget and budget message as presented to the court must also be available for public distribution in the latter county.

The greatest difference between the two budget systems concerns the classification of proposed expenditures. In a larger county this classification is left to the budget officer, making the system flexible. In a smaller county proposed expenditures must be allotted to six specified classes, each class having priority in the payment of claims in the order named. None of the sixth class, which is for the purchase of furniture, office equipment other than ordinary supplies, and miscellaneous purposes, may be expended unless funds are available to pay all claims provided for in the other five classes, and all outstanding lawful warrants for preceding years have been paid. These rigid provisions are designed to force economy and prevent borrowing through issuing warrants that must be protested for lack of funds. While such borrowing has practically ruined the credit of many counties, it is doubtful if a rigid budget system will aid greatly in placing the counties on a cash basis. In the five larger counties the court is specifically authorized to borrow funds not to exceed 75 per cent of the anticipated revenues for the fiscal year.²

A bill requiring centralized purchasing in all counties having less than 90,000 inhabitants passed the House but died on the Senate calendar after being amended to exempt public printing. It authorized the county court to appoint any elective official including one of its own members as purchasing agent without additional compensation. The bill was brief and well-drafted. It contained the standard provisions for scientific purchasing, which is indispensable for constructive economy and effective budgeting.

²As field agent in Missouri for the American Municipal Association, the writer has had an opportunity from December 1, 1933, to March 1, 1934, to secure first hand information from a number of county clerks regarding county budgets and uniform records. While it has been necessary to interpret liberally certain provisions of the budget law, considerable progress has been made. For the first time in the history of Missouri the county court and its clerk in each county have made a serious effort to estimate in advance the probable revenues and expenditures of the county, and to balance the budget. The majority of the clerks are proud of their budgets. They also appreciate the cooperation and assistance, through personal and regional conferences, of the state auditor and his staff, who have handled these new supervisory duties with rare tact and judgment. A real beginning has also been made in the installation of uniform records.

The budget law does not directly prevent any elective official from continuing to purchase individually such supplies as he may consider necessary for his own office.

A number of changes were made in the provisions for the collection of delinquent taxes. The most important one provides for the sale of tax liens as a means of collecting unpaid taxes on real estate instead of the cumbersome and expensive method of requiring a personal suit after such taxes had been delinquent for five years. The liens for taxes becoming delinquent on January 1 are to be advertised and sold by the collector on the first Monday of the following November. The owner may redeem the real estate any time within two years by paying the purchaser the amount of his bid and interest at not to exceed 10 per cent per annum. There now being no need for a separate tax attorney, this office was abolished and its remaining duties conferred upon the prosecuting attorney.

The penalty interest on delinquent taxes was reduced from 12 to 10 per cent. The collector's commission was reduced from 4 per cent (5 per cent in the 24 counties having township organization) to 2 per cent. But both will be entirely cancelled on delinquent taxes if paid by June 30, 1933; 75 per cent will be remitted if paid between June 30 and August 31; 50 per cent if paid between August 31 and October 31; and 25 per cent if paid between October 31 and December 31. This provision becomes inoperative on January 1, 1934. It was designed to encourage immediate payment of approximately \$37,000,000 of delinquent taxes. Several collectors report a mad rush to pay these taxes during the last week in June.

The legislature passed several salary bills. It reduced the maximum compensation of the county clerk, circuit clerk, prosecuting attorney and county superintendent of public schools by approximately 15 per cent on an average, according to the sponsors of these bills. In addition, these as well as other officers were frequently given new duties with no increase in compensation. Hereafter the United States decennial census population will be used in determining the salary of the above officers, instead of computing the population. By the latter method, as adopted in 1887, the population of a county for salary purposes was found by multiplying by five the highest vote cast for any office at the last general election. In later provisions the term "presidential election" instead of general election has been used.

The computation method had one advantage. It took into consideration changes in population between censuses, in so far as they were reflected by the total votes cast. It had the disadvantage of making salaries contingent on the popular interest in a particular election instead of the actual population of a county. Nevertheless, this method appears to have been quite satisfactory until after the adoption of woman suffrage. The women practically doubled the votes cast in 1920 and thereby increased the salary of the prosecuting attorney in different counties by 50 to 100 per cent. The other officials received a smaller increase, having a more modest salary schedule.

These increases explain why the legislature in 1921 reduced the multiple from five to three for the prosecuting attorney, and to three and one-half for the other officers. These provisions were immediately tested in the courts and declared invalid as violating the constitutional rule of uniformity. Later, however, the court held valid the multiple of three and one-half as applied to the county superintendent. Consequently, three different methods to determine the population for salary purposes were being used when the recent legislature met. In a few cases the census population was used; in some cases the multiple of three and one-half; and in other cases the multiple of five. The method not only varied for different offices in the same county, but also for the same office in different counties.

A few changes were made in the fee system which is still used in a majority of local offices. The sheriff's fees for transporting insane patients to state hospitals were reduced. The collector's commission on delinquent taxes was also reduced, as previously indicated. The other changes are relatively unimportant. The abolition or thorough revision of this antiquated system awaits future legislation.

Three different consolidations of county offices were made. The collector was made ex-officio treasurer in 87 counties having less than 90,000 inhabitants. These offices were already combined in 24 counties having township organization, though each township has a separate collector for taxes on real and personal property. The three urban counties, Buchanan, Jackson, and St. Louis, retain separate county treasurers. This bill should have gone further and conferred the duties of city collector upon the county collector, and those of city assessor upon the county assessor. There is no valid reason for separate city assessors and collectors.

The circuit clerk was made ex-officio recorder in 42 counties having less than 20,000 inhabitants, in addition to 37 counties in which the offices were already combined. The clerk receives no additional pay for his recording duties, the statutes considering the combined offices as one in fixing his maximum compensation. The offices may also be consolidated in any county having from 20,000 to 200,000 population, if approved by a majority of the voters voting on the proposition. (Only two counties, Jackson and St. Louis, have more than 200,000 inhabitants.) The old law made no provision for consolidating these offices, after they had once been separated by the county court.

The provisions for a school attendance officer were repealed, except for St. Louis County, and his duties conferred upon the county superintendent without additional compensation. The law, however, still permits a city or a consolidated school district to employ one or more attendance officers. It also authorizes the appointment of the superintendent of public welfare as attendance officer in some 30 counties where that office exists.

In addition to the above consolidations, brief consideration should be given to a plan for a general reorganization of county offices. The research committee of the Missouri Organization for Reduction of Taxes and Public Expenditures suggested two optional modified county manager bills. One was designed for the 111 counties having fewer than 90,000 inhabitants, the other for the three larger counties. Both were largely based on a bill which had originally been drafted for Jackson County. Neither bill was introduced in the legislature, however, the situation appearing unfavorable. Later, the bill for Jackson County was introduced in identical form in both houses, but it did not get out of the committee in either house. Of course, this bill did not have the support of the governor nor of the M. F. A. committee.

The bill for Jackson County made the county court a continuous body by extending the terms of the two associate judges from two to four years and alternating them with the presiding judge and county clerk, who now serve four years. It made the presiding judge, to be selected by the court, the chief administrative officer and budget director for the county. It abolished the elective offices of assessor, collector, treasurer, recorder, and surveyor, and all officers appointed by the court. It made the county clerk ex-officio recorder, and distributed the duties of the other officials among the three departments of revenue, public works, and public

welfare, as in the Model County Manager Law. It also made provision for a director of personnel, comptroller, purchasing agent, and counselor. In brief it provided for a good administrative organization and up-to-date administrative principles and methods.

The General Assembly did not reduce the number of local governmental areas. A bill repealing the optional provisions for township organization was defeated for perfection in the House by a vote of 64 to 52. This antiquated and expensive type of government exists in 24 of the 114 counties having 345 townships. The organized township serves as a unit for the assessment of real and personal property and the collection of these taxes. The township board has charge of the construction and maintenance of local roads and bridges. It has discretionary authority to levy a special road and bridge tax of not to exceed 25 cents on \$100 valuation. The township also shares in the general road taxes levied by the county court.

The advocates of the bill contended that the township was too small an area for a motor age; that it was expensive and inefficient. The opponents claimed that the voters in each county should decide for themselves whether to abandon or retain township organization, as authorized by the existing law. They cited the overwhelming majorities for its retention in two counties, which had voted on the question on November 8, 1932, as evidence that the people desired the system. It was also maintained that the law should not, and perhaps could not, be repealed so long as it was authorized by the state constitution.

Another bill repealing the three optional special road district laws was defeated for perfection in the Senate. The arguments for and against this bill were similar to those concerning township organization, except that no constitutional issue was raised. Of course, these 862 special districts have only one function—local road and bridge administration. The passage of these two bills would have abolished some 1,200 superfluous road boards. This would have made it possible for the court of any county to adopt an efficient county unit plan for local road administration. Such a system now exists in only a few counties.

A bill concerning the consolidation of school districts was defeated in the House. This bill hardly appears necessary for the 1931 school law provides for optional redistricting. Under this law the state department of education has made a survey of 107

counties, and worked out a comprehensive plan for the state, reducing the number of districts from 8,806 to 400 or 500. These suggestions are being used by a board of six members in each county, which must work out a proposed redistricting for submission to the voters. It is not likely, however, that many consolidations will be made in the immediate future.

The consolidation of counties received little consideration. The friends of county reform did not prepare a consolidation bill for they did not wish to create opposition to more popular proposals. However, a resolution proposing an amendment to the state constitution to authorize the voters voluntarily to consolidate two or more counties was introduced in the Senate, but died in committee. This resolution provided that each of the former counties should continue to elect its quota (one or more) of representatives to the General Assembly, thus preventing a reduction in the proportion of rural members. It had been charged that county consolidation would reduce the number of rural legislators, thus increasing the influence of the cities in the General Assembly.

A few other bills affecting local functions and county-state relations deserve brief mention. A bill transferring the expense of insane paupers in state hospitals from the county to the state passed both houses, but was vetoed by the governor. It would have enabled an average county to reduce its expenses by about 10 per cent. It would, however, have forced further reductions in appropriations for various state activities, unless additional revenue had been provided. That is why one-fourth of the income from a proposed luxury sales tax was set aside for this purpose. (One-half of the income would have gone to the public schools and the remainder for general state purposes.) This bill passed the House under pressure from the governor, but was killed in committee in the Senate.

Several bills providing tobacco taxes and additional taxes on public utilities had previously been killed in committee in the House. The sponsors of these bills, as well as the luxury tax, were primarily interested in securing additional state revenue for distribution to the public schools. It is probable that a special session may have to be called for this purpose. Public school leaders are actively urging a special session, but the governor has said that it will not be necessary.

The legislature failed to enact an old age pension law to carry out the provisions of a constitutional amendment adopted by the

voters in 1932. It was undoubtedly the intention of the sponsors of such pensions to transfer the cost of paupers over 70 years of age from the county to the state, as in the case of pensions for the blind. On the day of adjournment, the Senate appointed a committee to study this question and to make a report to the next General Assembly.

In abolishing the state board of charities and corrections and transferring its duties to the board for eleemosynary institutions, the provision for state inspection of county almshouses and jails was omitted. This is an unfortunate omission, even though the duty has often been neglected. The commission for the blind was also abolished and its duties conferred upon the eleemosynary board. The name of the latter board is now misleading. It should be changed to the State Board of Public Welfare.

Two bills transferring the duties of inspecting, approving and classifying high schools from the state department of education to the county superintendent were killed in committee. A county planning bill applicable to Buchanan County was enacted, but one for counties of over 25,000 inhabitants received scant attention. The provisions for county agricultural experiment stations were repealed, thus eliminating one of the newer county functions.

This survey indicates that the modernization of Missouri county government has only begun. The provisions for budgeting, auditing and uniform records, if properly administered, will greatly improve business methods. Unfortunately the county purchasing bill was not passed. The legislature made a few changes concerning delinquent taxes, fees and salaries but it did not attempt a thorough revision. It consolidated a few county offices, but left a general reorganization for future legislation. The number of local governmental units was not reduced. The depression has not been severe enough to force the enactment of such economy measures which are contrary to the traditional concepts of democracy as reflected in the long ballot and small local areas.

THE STATUS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN THE SOUTHWEST

BY J. J. RHYNE

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The conception that research activity is in some degree an essential part of the task of the teacher in institutions of higher learning has been gaining additional and widespread recognition during the past several years. This conception has been recognized to a greater degree and for a longer time in the physical and natural sciences than in the social sciences. In fact, many teachers in the social sciences have contended and still contend that teaching and research are separate functions. They have in no wise been willing to admit that in gaining an enlightened point of view and in securing a thorough acquaintance with the subject matter research at once becomes an invaluable asset. An increasingly large number of other teachers of social science, on the other hand, are convinced that research is an essential tool for effective classroom work.

The present paper represents an effort to gain some comprehension of the status of research in the social sciences in the Southwest according to position, academic rank, and preparation of those engaged in research, and the type of institution where the research is being conducted. The study was made through the use of questionnaires during the early part of 1933. Of approximately 500 inquiries sent out, definite replies were received from 235 persons in the fields of agricultural economics, economics and business administration, government, history, and sociology. A few replies were also received from teachers of anthropology, geography, education, and psychology. These, however, were not sufficiently numerous for purposes of classification and were for the most part not included in the summary of findings. Exceptions to the foregoing statement were made in the case of five anthropologists and two geographers who reported research in progress of a sociological significance and were accordingly so classified.

The survey was conducted among teachers of the social sciences in the states of Arkansas, Arizona, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas. Replies were received from teachers in all types of institutions of higher learning represented in the region, including state universities, land grant colleges, privately endowed

universities, denominational colleges and universities, state teachers colleges, and state colleges for women. Proportionately more returns, however, were received from state universities than from any of the other institutional groups mentioned.

In considering the facts presented, however, it must be borne in mind that those sufficiently interested to fill out and return the questionnaires represented a selected group. For the most part, the returned schedules gave a fair indication of the status of research in the Southwest. Apparently, most of those failing to return the schedules either were not interested in research and hence did not have any project in progress, or considered their teaching load too heavy to prosecute successfully a research project. On the other hand, it is plausible to suppose that most of those who were interested in research returned the questionnaires.

Only thirty-three of the 235 teachers from whom schedules were received reported no research in progress. In other words, approximately eighty-eight per cent of those reporting were engaged in some type of research. Almost one-half of those responding to the inquiries held the rank of professor. Associate professors and assistant professors formed approximately one-fourth and one-fifth, respectively, of the group responding. Six persons reported the rank of dean. Only sixteen holding the rank of instructor sent in their replies.

Of the 235 persons replying, 132 held the Ph.D. degree. In other words, approximately three persons in every five who returned the schedules had the Ph.D. degree. Apparently those who had this degree were represented in a considerably higher proportion in the study than in the faculties in the Southwest in general.

A proportionally larger number of persons having the doctor's degree reported research in progress than those having either the master's or the bachelor's degree. Approximately nine persons in every ten who had the doctor's degree reported one or more research projects under way, as compared to eight in ten persons who had the master's and three in ten of those with the bachelor's degree.

Comparatively no difference was found in the proportion engaged in research according to rank. Of the four regular teaching ranks from instructor to full professor, the proportion engaged in research ranged from 81.0 per cent for instructors to 88.8 per

cent for assistant professors. All six persons holding the administrative position of dean reported one or more research projects in progress.

A consideration of research in terms of degree and rank showed that proportionally fewer full professors having the master's degree were engaged in research than in any other teaching rank or degree. Aside from the six deans reporting, which was too small a group to consider, the proportion of assistant professors holding the Ph.D. degree who were engaged in research was higher than for any other group. On the other hand, among the holders of the master's degree, proportionately more instructors were engaged in research. The probabilities are that a large part of this group was pursuing a project as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the doctor's degree.

RESEARCH ACCORDING TO DEGREE AND ACADEMIC RANK
OF THE PERSON REPORTING

Academic Rank	Doctor's Degree		Master's Degree		Bachelor's Degree	
	Research in Progress	No Research in Progress	Research in Progress	No Research in Progress	Research in Progress	No Research in Progress
Dean	5	0	1	0	—	—
Professor	63	7	30	10	1	—
Associate Professor —	30	2	19	4	—	2
Assistant Professor —	17	1	18	4	5	—
Instructor	5	2	8	1	—	—
	120	12	76	19	6	2

The returned schedules were classified under the divisions of agricultural economics, business administration, government, history, and sociology. Included under business administration were also schedules returned by economists, and under sociology a few schedules returned by anthropologists. In both instances where the combinations were made it was either difficult to classify separately, as was true in the case of economics teachers who were also teaching classes in business, or as in the case of anthropologists where the number returning the schedules was too few to be of any quantitative value when considered alone.

A larger proportion of sociologists reported research in progress than any other group. Slightly over ninety per cent of this group reported one or more projects as compared to eighty per cent of the teachers of government, and eighty-two per cent of the

teachers of business administration. The agricultural economists ranked next to the sociologists in the proportion engaged in research. Historians, with eighty-eight per cent reporting research, ranked third.

The natural scientists have to a large extent carried forward research on the local or regional basis. Within the past decade a similar trend has been under way in the social sciences. Anthropologists have for some time been interested in the study of specific tribal groups or cultures. Historians, likewise, have been devoting no little attention to specific areas in recording world events and major social changes. The political scientists, the economists, and the sociologists, on the other hand, have not been as quick to shift the emphasis in research from the general to the specific. On the contrary, there has been a decided resistance to change on this particular point. This resistance in some instances at least has been both conscious and pronounced. The regional approach has been criticised, first, on account of fruitless scattered efforts because of limited scope; second, on account of the inability to apply results to any but the specific areas that have been studied; and third, on account of a consequent insignificance of accumulated data. The advocates of the generalized approach have for the most part been older persons trained in observing human society as a whole rather than observing various component parts. They have simply been loath to change at least until the newer approach has been able to demonstrate its superiority.

The apostles of regionalism, on the other hand, have for the most part been younger men. Some of them have openly and consciously appropriated the methods employed in the natural sciences. Others have more or less indirectly received stimulus from that source through graduate and undergraduate preparation. Still others, sensing an inadequacy in the generalized approach, have turned to the regional approach as the one and only chance of the social sciences to become truly scientific and at the same time gain the respect and the coöperation of the physical and natural sciences.

The regional advocates have been given considerable moral and financial encouragement through awards from foundations interested in research in the social sciences. Practically all awards granted for research have been for projects concerned with the study of a definite area. While the scope, or area, included may vary from a section as small as a county to an area as large as an

entire region, for the most part, the project has had to be sufficiently definite in scope to allow considerable detailed factual study. Such organizations as the Social Science Research Council and the Laura Spelman division of the Rockefeller Foundation have awarded sums varying in amount from a hundred dollars or less to thousands, depending on the validity and size of the contemplated project, the number of persons required, and the amount of equipment and expense necessary to a successful prosecution of the contemplated project. Although the Rockefeller interests have for the most part given grants to institutions which in turn have enlisted the services of individuals for specific projects that are component parts of a larger project, the Social Science Research Council has followed the policy of awards to individuals for specific projects. In addition to the two privately administered organizations, the Federal government through its Department of Agriculture has for some time been awarding considerable sums of money annually to land grant colleges for research in agricultural economics and in rural sociology. One or more institutions in each of the states in the area under consideration in the present study have been recipients of these grants.

A number of teachers in the social sciences in the Southwest have received grants for research from the Social Science Research Council. The University of Texas has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for research in the Southwest. Some of the larger institutions in the area have set aside small sums from their general appropriation for the purpose of promoting research. For the most part, these awards have been utilized for projects in any field and have not been restricted to the social sciences.

A classification was made of the 290 research projects reported by southwestern social science teachers according to the regional and general approach. The regional projects were further subdivided into those relating to the Southwest and those relating to some other region. Of the 290 projects reported, 123, or 43 per cent, were of a general nature, while the remaining 167 were more or less definitely regional in scope and content. Of the 167 regional projects, 94 were concerned with the Southwest, while 73 involved a local study of some other area or region. In other words, approximately one project in three in the total of 290 reported concerned the accumulation of materials about one or all of the states in the southwestern region.

The southwestern regional projects were to a rather large extent subsidized projects. On the other hand, the general projects were for the most part unsubsidized projects. In a few instances one person reported two projects, one of which was an unsubsidized general project, while the other was a subsidized project involving the study of some southwestern problem. The probabilities are that in such instances the individuals concerned really preferred the general project to the regional project. Since a grant could be secured for the regional project but could not be secured for the general project both were being carried simultaneously so that the remuneration from the subsidized regional project would at the same time assist to some degree in covering the expenses incurred for materials and equipment involved in carrying forward the general project.

A consideration of research projects reported in terms of the nature of the project and specialism showed that more projects of an anthropological or sociological nature concerned the Southwest than of any other group. Approximately three projects in every five in this group involved a southwestern study. The projects reported by the anthropologists and rural sociologists, both of which were included in the sociological group, were with one exception all concerned with the Southwest. The emphasis placed by these two specialisms on definite localized projects would naturally cause the great majority of such projects to be of a regional nature. Approximately 54 per cent of the projects reported in both agricultural economics and history concerned the Southwest. The projects in economics and business administration, on the other hand, were least concerned with the Southwest. Hardly 37 per cent of the projects in this group involved a phase of southwestern culture.

A larger proportion of the projects reported in economics and business administration were of a general nature than for any other group. Of the 78 projects in this group, 46, or 60 per cent, were of a general nature. Projects in history were least concerned with general subject matter. Only three history projects in ten were of this type.

Of the regional projects involving some area outside of the Southwest, the studies of an historical nature ranked first. Approximately one-fourth of the history projects reported fell under this classification. On the other hand, no projects in agricultural economics involved a study of some other region. All of

the studies in this division were either general in nature or concerned the Southwest.

TYPE OF RESEARCH ACCORDING TO SPECIALISM

Type of Research	SPECIALISM					
	Bus. Ad.	Hist.	Sociol.	Govt.	Ag. Ec.	Total
General	46 ¹	31	21	10	15	123
Relating to Southwest ..	28	45	33	7	12	125
Relating to Some Other Region	4	25	3	10	0	42
Total Projects	78	101	57	27	27	290

¹Number of projects reported.

While no particular significance can be attached to the number of research projects reported per person, the data are included for the information thus contained. A warning should be made at the outset, however, that the number of projects reported is not an indication of research interest or activity. In other words, it would be obviously untrue to state that a person reporting two or more projects was either more interested in research projects or was doing more research than the person who reported only one topic. Some of those reporting only one topic in progress were known to have been quite actively interested in research and had published within the past three years a rather impressive list of articles and books. Either one of several things could account for this situation. In the first place, some of those reporting several projects were young persons who were beginning their teaching careers and who consequently had not been in the work a sufficient length of time to get anything published. On the other hand, there were perhaps a few wishful thinkers who imagined they were doing research by having several projects in mind, but who were never able to complete a project; or if the project had been completed the quality of the work done was such that publishers refused to accept the results for publication.

However, the chances are that those who ordinarily pursue one project only at a time are never at the point where they have no other project in view. In other words, the chances are that not one of the thirty-three reporting no research in progress when the survey was made just happened to have completed a project and had not had time to think of or to begin another. Instead, the

probabilities are that those not having a project at the time would not have had a project under way at any other time.

Of the 202 persons reporting research in progress, 144, or 71 per cent, reported one project only, 37, or 18 per cent, reported two projects, 16, or eight per cent, reported three projects, two reported four, one five, and one six projects. There was little or no difference between the proportions reporting one or more than one project in progress according to specialism.

Ninety-three per cent of the replies received from privately endowed universities reported research in progress as compared to 91 per cent in state universities. The highest percentage reporting no research, on the other hand, was in the group of teachers' and women's colleges. Of 37 reporting in this group, nine, or approximately one in four, reported no research. In the land grant and in the denominational colleges nineteen per cent reported no research in progress.

An effort was made to determine whether the type of institution and the degree held in any way affected the status of research. In other words, do proportionally more persons in state universities who hold the doctor's degree engage in research than those who hold the same degree and teach in other types of institutions? On account of the large number of classifications into which the data had to be divided in order to determine this point, the number in any single classification was too small for purposes of conclusion. The data have, nevertheless, been included

RESEARCH ACCORDING TO DEGREE HELD AND TYPE OF INSTITUTION

Type of Institution	Doctor's Degree		Master's Degree		Bachelor's Degree	
	Research in Progress	No Research in Progress	Research in Progress	No Research in Progress	Research in Progress	No Research in Progress
State Universities	72	3	34	7	2	—
Land Grant Colleges	15	3	18	5	1	—
Teachers' and Women's Colleges (State)	12	1	16	8	—	—
Denominational Colleges	12	—	5	2	—	2
Privately Endowed Colleges and Universities	9	—	5	1	2	—
Total	120	7	78	23	5	2

in the following table for whatever meager information they may contain.

Of 202 persons reporting research, 39, or 13 per cent, reported that they were coöperating with some other person.

Fifty-one of the 202 persons reporting research stated that at least one project in progress was subsidized. Apparently considerable financial assistance is available for social science research in the Southwest when one-fourth of those reporting stated that their projects were subsidized.

The great majority of those doing research were devoting "spare moments" only to research. Only five of the 202 persons reporting research were employed full time to do research. One person spent half time in research and one person one-fourth time.

Finally by way of summary, it may be rather definitely concluded that a fairly impressive proportion of southwestern social science teachers is actively engaged in some form of research activity. While no direct effort was made to determine the quality of research being carried on, it may nevertheless be observed that if the quality measures up favorably to the degree of research activity manifested, the Southwest apparently compares quite favorably with other sections of the country.

Even though no effort was made to determine the quality of the work being done, nevertheless, some insight into research effectiveness was probably reflected in the nature of the research as designated by the titles. If the title of the project is any criterion whatever of the ability of the person to do research, then again the results would seem favorable. It should be observed in this regard, however, that if the title may be used as a basis for judging quality, apparently a fairly large number of the projects reported would never gain any serious consideration at the hands of a publisher. This statement would obviously apply to a larger extent to those who have not yet received the doctor's degree. However, the possession of the doctor's degree does not necessarily imply that the person is well qualified to do research. The probabilities are that there is still, even in the best universities, some lack of course instruction to cover adequately much needed information as to proper procedure in research in the social sciences.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

The University of Texas

Warren, G. F., and Pearson, F. A., *Prices*. (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1933, pp. v, 300.)

In *Prices* Professors Warren and Pearson of Cornell University have made a valuable contribution to the field of banking and prices. This work represents an enormous amount of research in compiling the statistical material that forms the background for the writers' philosophy. The discussion is freely supplemented by tables of statistics and figures presenting the significant trends and relationships. The book should be well received by wage earner, salaried worker, enterpriser, and capitalist, for the authors have devoted much attention to the effects of prosperity and depression upon enterprises, industries, and laborers. The characteristic lag in wages and rents is considered. The difficulties of price adjustments and their confusing effects upon business are discussed critically. The whole maladjustment is carried through to the ultimate effects upon the stability and security of the family living and accumulated savings.

The major cause of the present panic is found in the break-down of the commodity price system, which finds its explanation finally in the change in world monetary stocks of gold and the international demand for and supply of the monetary stocks.

Of great interest to the reader of *Prices* will be the clear-cut distinction which is established between causal and resultant factors in boom and depression periods of economic history. The outstanding contribution of this treatise is the discovery of the causal factor before proceeding with a discussion of results expected and actually following the changing conditions of the causal factor. Far-reaching research on the subject of money and commodity price has enabled the authors to trace back to a tangible source that element of the economic system which leads eventually to panics regardless of nationality, banking system, intellect of people, and condition of natural resources.

With the causal factor definitely established, the procedure of the authors is to unravel a story of the conditions leading to the rise and fall in the commodity price level. The multitude of resultant conditions attending this change in the price level leads the reader through the history of the United States and of many foreign countries with a clear interpretation of what monetary changes have taken place at every significant point in the economic welfare of the nations. The authors point out clearly where the confusion of the layman will arise, and how easy it is to confuse results of a depression with its causes. Politicians and business men in attempting to bring relief usually suggest remedies for the result, rather than to remove the cause of depressions.

The authors class the violently fluctuating commodity price level as being, second only to war, the greatest danger to human welfare and the progress of civilization.

From a national standpoint the trouble lies in legislative enactment fixing both the weight and the price of gold back of the dollar. With the varying

conditions ever present in the demand for and supply of gold monetary stocks its exchange value with commodities must fluctuate accordingly. The point that "the government can maintain its money as a fixed weight of gold or as a fixed value in terms of all commodities" is stressed repeatedly. It cannot maintain both weight and price fixed and have stability of commodity prices.

Our banking system comes in for constructive consideration. It is clearly pointed out that our banking policy tends to increase violent commodity price fluctuations, because by law we sanction the idea that currency should be increased when business is active and curtailed when a depression appears, whereas the reverse is necessary for commodity price stability. It is also shown that fiat bank credit may be more inflationary than fiat currency. Clearly the function of government and banking should be to give stability to business rather than stimulate greater instability.

Unemployment, surplus stocks of goods, loss of public confidence, foreclosures, subsidies, tariff protection, excessive tax burdens, stifled business initiative are definitely shown to be results of a declining price level rather than causes. Bankers generally blame lack of public confidence for "runs" and heavy withdrawals. Few banks close during a rising price level. Many close during a falling price level, especially after the decline has continued for several years. A business man finds it impossible to meet his notes with rapidly falling prices, banks are unable to get high collections, and depositors know that the security for loans shrinks in value rapidly with declining prices. All of these symptoms disappear with inflation and rising price level.

The solution offered by the authors is comparatively simple, as is the logic of their analysis of cause for booms and depressions. One means is to revise the monetary legislation with respect to the weight of gold or its exchange value. Another is to enlarge the monetary commodities to include both gold and silver instead of only gold. Silver has a more stabilized purchasing power than gold and would give a more stabilized commodity price level. Combining both metals would be more stabilizing than for the more violently fluctuating metal, gold alone.

The authors, however, give as the best measure the index number of the wholesale prices of all commodities or of selected basic commodities, and make it the function of government and banking to stabilize this price level. Should this price level rise, automatically the weight of the gold exchangeable for a dollar would rise proportionately; or if a fixed weight of gold is used then its price must fall proportionately. The position at which the price level is stabilized is largely immaterial, though it should be raised from the present level to such an extent that creditor and debtor would fare equally well in the adjustment. If the price level falls the amount of gold would be decreased, or the price of a unit would be increased. The whole objective is to make purchasing power of commodities stable and let the price fluctuation be taken out in weight or price of gold.

The writers believe that removal of causes leading to depressions depends upon government and banking activities. Apparently, however, they doubt the courage of either to apply a scientific cure. Futile price bolstering attempts always follow in the wake of depressions and usually force the price level to a lower point. Their warning to the individual is to prepare himself as far as possible against the dangers of a changing price level and to use

his influence in bringing about a more favorable public opinion demanding the removal of this menace to the development of civilization.

R. J. SAVILLE.

Louisiana State University.

Tannenbaum, Frank, *Peace by Revolution, An Interpretation of Mexico*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. 317.)

Mr. Tannenbaum, his publisher assures us, tells "the truth about the Mexican Revolution" which "has been too long kept from us." If we have remained in ignorance regarding the real meaning of the Socio-Economic Revolution it has not been because of a dearth of willing "interpreters." But unfortunately the numerous gratuitous explanations (marred by prejudice, self-interest, and superficial study) of what has been taking place south of the Rio Grande have been responsible for beclouding issues sufficiently complicated to defy analysis. Slight wonder, therefore, that intelligent Mexicans view with mistrust, and nausea, the literary efforts of foreigners, radicals and conservatives alike, to "explain Mexico."

Although it is still impossible, because of the limited time perspective, to synthesize accurately the historical evolution of Mexico during the past twenty years, there appears to be little doubt that Mr. Tannenbaum's effort has outstripped those of his predecessors in approximating the truth. Here is the first "interpretation" of Mexico which betrays an adequate background. Although the book is not burdened with statistics, voluminous factual information, or supporting references, one senses nevertheless that the author knows his subject, and has carefully weighed and evaluated his evidence before presenting his conclusions. In short this work exhibits by contrast the superficiality of earlier "interpretations."

As one might expect, because of the author's excellent studies on the Mexican agrarian problem, the best chapters of the present volume concern Land. Second in value and interest are those devoted to Education. The problems and objectives of the educational program are discussed with sympathy and understanding. Hardly measuring up to the chapters on Land, Labor, and Education are those on Race and Religion. There is an over-estimation of the Indian and depreciation of the Spaniard. It can scarcely be said that "the white population was always a small evanescent group in the total population" when it constituted 23 per cent in 1810 (the author's own figures, p. 21). That "the Spaniard was not a colonist" cannot be accepted. An essential element in the Bolton thesis is that the Spaniards were truly great colonists. Regarding the Church, there is complete misunderstanding concerning the relation of the clergy to the independence movement. How can it be contended that the clergy were partisans of the losing side, when it was the clergy who manoeuvred independence? Also, how can it be contended that the priest was not an essential in the religious life of the villages? The essence of this life was the sacraments, and for their ministration, the priest was indispensable. Finally, the attempted interpretation of the meaning of anti-clericalism since 1910 is deficient because it is too sketchy and casual. The chapters on Race and Religion lack penetration.

Mr. Tannenbaum poses a question the answer to which incidentally, explains the title of his book: "What is Mexico's most insistent need?" "Peace! Internal peace, a sense of stability, of permanence, of security; that is the

pressing need of Mexico. Not in all its history has Mexico had peace. The day of dissolution is always at hand." The reason for this instability and insecurity is that Mexico has never been a nation. The Spanish Conquest left Mexico neither a unified race nor a unified culture. "Mexico can never have peace unless it achieves internal unity and harmony. It cannot do that unless it destroys the enormous disequilibrium that lies at its roots." The program of the Socio-Economic Revolution is to mould a Mexican nation: one race, one culture. If it succeeds, and even the most optimistic must concede that the hardest part of the road still lies ahead, then Mexico will have peace.

The volume is illustrated with a number of interesting drawings by the well-known Mexican artist, Miguel Covarrubias.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

The University of Texas.

White, Leonard D., *Trends in Public Administration*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, pp. x, 365.)

The academic consciousness of public administration as a distinct problem of political thought is still relatively new. Woodrow Wilson was aware of the subject in 1887, when he wrote a landmark article, "The Study of Administration," for Volume II of the *Political Science Quarterly*. Frank J. Goodnow published *Comparative Administrative Law* in 1893. Columbia University began studying centralization within the states about 1890, and other schools soon followed in other phases of research. The University of Chicago made an appointment specifically in public administration in 1920. The man chosen was Leonard D. White, and the first comprehensive textbook in the field was his, published in 1926.

Dr. White, working for the Hoover committee on social trends, has now made a systematic survey of the changes and probable future directions in administrative evolution. Reading between the lines, one might see possibly the results of the academic attention given so far to administration as well as the results of other reforming pressure. The reform of administration has now become so institutionalized that it is itself a part of modern public administration. Here in this book is a panorama of all three levels of government with emphasis on shifts in balance of power among the levels, on the new management in administration, on trends in public employment, and on the developments in the process of improving administration. Careful research has amassed statistical evidence, compilations of laws, and reports of conditions to show the trends.

While some aspects of public administration remain in their pioneer state, the changes that have occurred have been directed uniformly toward greater efficiency, improved methods, better and more extensive service, and the elimination of waste, the author believes. In view of the short period of growth—little more than thirty years—enormous strides have been taken in some phases of administration. Thus the reorganization and integration of state and city administrations and the belated but effective recognition of scientific management in some public quarters are notable advances when seen in relation to the time of their growing. Within twenty years forty-seven states and hundreds of cities adopted some type of budget system; the city manager appeared; and the more responsible elected executive was accepted.

On the other hand, there have been no effective inventions for the control of administrative officers, periodic elections still being the chief instrument of popular control.

As a whole the administrative trends have been conservative, the author finds. No attempts have been made to alter the basic concepts of American theory. The changes have been in technique and not in philosophy.

For the future Dr. White thinks public attention will be given to deciding: (1) whether the stronger central governments shall control or merely guide local divisions; (2) whether the higher administrative officers shall be political and non-professional or non-political and professional; (3) whether adequate leadership in public affairs will develop if the professional non-political executive becomes dominant; (4) whether the social value of expenditures will be given proper consideration in a system of fiscal control by the powerful staff agencies now invented; (5) how men and women are to be trained for the public service; (6) how citizen participation in administration can be preserved when a professionalized bureaucracy appears; and (7) the readjustment of the constitutional system in the face of increasing law-making by the administration.

Dr. White adds this volume to a growing list of highly significant contributions to the new consideration of public administration. His former studies are landmarks by one who has blazed the trail. In this volume of looking at the distance covered and projecting into the future he has collected again information that is essential for an understanding of the subject of administration.

JAMES L. McCAMY.

University of Chicago.

Keith, Arthur Berridale, (Ed.), *Speeches and Documents on the British Dominions, 1918-1931. From Self-Government to National Sovereignty.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xlvii, 501.)

Keith, Arthur Berridale, *The Constitutional Law of the British Dominions.* (London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. xxvi, 522.)

Professor Keith continues to be the outstanding and most prolific scholar writing on the British Commonwealth of Nations, or the British Empire as he would insist. In editing this set of *Speeches and Documents* he brings the documentary evidence down to the passage of the Statute of Westminster and thus supplements his earlier volumes of *Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917* (1918). This set of source materials on the growth and development of the British Empire presents in convenient form the documentary evidence necessary to any study of the empire since 1763. The documents are classified chronologically and are taken from British and Dominion parliamentary debates, statutes, command documents and reports, and a few newspaper articles. In the introduction to the *Speeches and Documents* (xv-xlvii) and the first section of the *Constitutional Law* (36-89), Professor Keith explains in clear and non-technical language what he conceives to be the present political organization of the British Empire. For him, the barrister and English commentator, the organization of which he writes is the British Empire, though the Irish Free State prefers "to call it the British Commonwealth of Nations." (*Speeches and Documents*, xxvii.) Even the Statute of Westminster made "no effort to define

the term 'British Empire' or "to substitute for it the variant, 'the British Commonwealth of Nations'." (*Ibid.*, xlvi).

Professor Keith's summary of the present imperial organization seems to be that "the Dominions and the United Kingdom alike enjoy the system of full responsible government." (*Speeches and Documents*, p. xxvii; *Constitutional Law of British Dominions*, p. 16.) Though this is qualified, according to Keith, by the fact that the Dominion governments cannot "declare war, proclaim neutrality, or make peace," or "exercise the treaty power. In these matters the King, not the Governor-general [i.e., *ministry*], still acts for the Dominions, a fact which inevitably complicates the operation of Dominion autonomy." (*Speeches and Documents*, xxviii.) There also exist difficulties in making the position of the Governor-general exactly like that of the King because of the temporary tenure of the Governor-general. (*Ibid.*, xxix.) This 1931 position was amended slightly in 1933 after Keith saw the full force of the Byng incident in Canada and the Isaacs' appointment in Australia, and the writer admitted in 1933 that the Governor-general is now the free choice of the ministry, though he is still doubtful about the position of King and Governor-general. (*Constitutional Law*, p. 18.) One wonders what Keith will say to the Irish action of 1933. Mayhap he will wait three years and then admit that something has happened, though he is not sure just what.

Likewise for Keith "the Imperial Parliament still possesses a pre-eminence over all the other parliaments in the Empire a fact which the Statute of Westminster solemnly acknowledges . . ." (*Ibid.*, xxix-xxx.) This is quite in line with his 1926 position, in which he declared that the British Parliament still had power to legislate for the whole Empire. (*Sovereignty of the British Dominions*, 1926, p. 2.) Keith does admit in 1933 that the Dominions have absolute legislative competency, but does not square his two positions. (*Constitutional Law*, 24-29.) Again Keith holds that constituent powers of Dominion "are similar to those of the United Kingdom" save in Canada and Ireland, where British action is necessary. (*Speeches and Documents*, xxxi, *Constitutional Law of British Dominions*, p. 96.)

The general approach of the author to the constitutional history of the Commonwealth can be judged by the above references. This does not mean that Keith takes a Tory position. He admits that much water had passed under the bridge since that eventful meeting of premiers in 1917, but to the Canadian, South African and Free Stater, Keith at times seems to forget or misjudge the amount that has passed. Professor Keith is a barrister and as such illustrates the position of the last guard defense of state sovereignty. This is the reason that Keith is haunted by the same ghost that plagued Lord John Russell with his fears for the sovereignty and unity of the political entity called the British Empire in the forties of last century.

The second part of *The Constitutional Law of the British Dominions* gives an excellent statement of the fundamentals of the various dominion governments. The approach is not merely that of detailing the mechanics of dominion governments. The author analyzes and compares and comments on the corresponding departments of dominion governments. This volume is a veritable encyclopedia of dominion government. Both volumes have excellent indices.

ERWIN F. MEYER.

The University of Colorado.

Bromage, Arthur W., *American County Government*. (New York: Sears Publishing Company, 1933, pp. viii, 306.)

Murphy, Wallace C., *County Government and Administration in Texas*. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, Bulletin No. 3324, 1933, pp. 334.)

It was only a short time ago that the American county was called "the Dark Continent of American politics." Since that time numerous surveys in several states of the American union have brought to light the deplorable situation existing in county government and administration with the result that a scattered attack is now being made upon the evils apparent in this heretofore unexplored field of governmental activity. No longer, in fact, is the county with its numerous political subdivisions and its generally inefficient administrative system able to escape critical appraisal, for every survey thus far attempted has increased considerably the attention paid by state legislatures, civic organizations and governmental experts to the problems of local governments. And if the last few years are any guide to the future, significant changes will be demanded more and more in the traditional set-up of local government in the states for the very necessary purpose of increasing efficiency and promoting economy in local administration. In the South and West, where the county has always been the primary form of local governmental organization, a mass attack will be directed against this unit, with victory unassured for possibly a number of years. As an important unit in the scheme of government, the county deserves the critical attention that it is now receiving.

For a readable, interesting criticism of local government in general and the county in particular no better book could be obtained than the one written by Professor Bromage. Collaborating with Professor T. H. Reed in making a study of the cost of county and township government in Michigan, the author gained valuable information of a practical nature that he used to advantage in the preparation of this book. No attempt is made to burden the reader with numberless details; hence, the details of local government must be found elsewhere for those who desire them. But for one who wishes a critical and swift analysis of local government as it is and as it should be and of the attempts at reform instituted by such states as Virginia, North Carolina and Montana, told in an entertaining way, this book should be consulted.

Discussing in the first two chapters the labyrinth of local government areas and the power of the past in fastening a present archaic system upon various sections of the country, Professor Bromage then treats of systems of rural government, the influence of municipal government, the county and the state, the county manager plan, county administration, county consolidation, the township, and the reconstruction of local government. A selected bibliography on county government reform is given. Throughout the book a balanced judgment is shown with an eye to the practical, especially in the discussion of proposed reforms, and with the exception of some repetition, the book is quite well-written.

Sponsored by The University of Texas Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences, a project was begun three years ago for the study of county government in Texas; and the results of that undertaking are now revealed in Dr. Wallace C. Murphy's *County Government and Administration in Texas*.

Gathering material from selected counties (27 out of 254 counties in the State) through the examination of county records, conferences with county officers, visits to county institutions, and from the meager information obtained by state officials from county officers, Dr. Murphy was able to throw into bold relief the defective organization and administration of county government in Texas. Dividing his survey into four parts, the author discusses in two chapters the selection and compensation of officers by means of the fee system and the viciousness of this system, county finances in five chapters, county functions and functional agents in seven chapters, and suggestions for a plan of revision in the last chapter. Even though detailed as such a study must be, the information given is of the greatest interest to students of government not only in Texas but elsewhere, and the book may be used as a practical guide for an attack upon the problems of county government in this State, for the many recommendations made take into account the traditional obstacles that confront the advocates of change. Although the reading is difficult at times and more references might beneficially be cited, the book is a good beginning for a more exhaustive critical survey of county government in Texas.

J. ALTON BURDINE.

The University of Texas.

McFarland, Carl, *Judicial Control of the Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1920-1930*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. vii, 214.)

A valuable contribution has been made in this book to the literature on the legal aspects of governmental control through commissions. The book is of interest and value because of the point of view on judicial control, the careful analysis of court cases and commission reports, and the concise and definite statement of conclusions. Fortunately, it is more than a review of the action of the courts; it attempts to show also the importance of the position of the commissions in obtaining legislation for making administrative regulation effective.

The first chapter contains a discussion of the general problem of judicial control of administrative agencies. The author believes that "judicial review of the administrative ascertainment of facts should involve no more than an inquiry into the sufficiency of the evidence to bring the matter within the range of administrative competency" and that "rules of law must be formulated for no other purpose than to express the judicial estimation of the limits of delegated authority." He does not believe that the courts ought to intervene "to lay down what the judiciary believes the proper rule for the particular case or for all similar cases, for to do so is to usurp the task of administrators who act under broadly delegated authority." Thus, he would allow a broader scope for administrative authority than is proposed in Dickinson's *Administrative Justice and the Supremacy of Law*. He points out that Dickinson's view that the courts should evolve "standards" "posits the development of a body of rules as the purpose of law"; he shows furthermore that the courts fail in the development of a body of rules, that they intrude on the functions of the commissions, and that if there is necessity for review on matters of judgment a superior administrative tribunal might be the answer.

The major portion of the book is devoted to a detailed analysis of the judicial construction from 1920 to 1930 of the powers of the two commissions. It is shown that the Supreme Court has substituted its judgment for that of the Federal Trade Commission in the determination of the content of the substantive provisions of the Clayton and Federal Trade Commission Acts, has made "public interest" a jurisdictional requirement, has at times given its own interpretation of the evidence, and has in general impaired the effectiveness of the regulatory work of the commission. The author emphasizes that the result has been a shift by the commission from authoritative regulation to investigation and publicity, "a definite reversion to the conception of commission function in the earlier stage of public regulation." On the other hand, it is shown that the Interstate Commerce Commission is able to act as an authoritative governmental agency. Though the administrative and substantive provisions of the Act of 1887 were decidedly inadequate, the commission persistently advised changes in the statutes, Congress increased the administrative authority, and the courts extended sympathetic cooperation to the commission in the exercise of the expansive powers.

In a concluding chapter the author seeks an explanation for the difference in the attitude of the courts toward the two commissions in recent years. He thinks the differences are "wholly explainable neither by the subject matter nor by the terms of the statutes." On the contrary, "it is the cooperation between the commission and Congress and the cumulated and vigorous legislative policy that distinguishes the regulation of carriers from regulation of competition in general trade." The Federal Trade Commission has not insisted vigorously on legislative definitions and extensions of its authority and Congress has failed "to insist upon experimentation by the administrative commission." The courts do "respond to a determined legislative policy," but in the absence of a clear and continuous policy they "fall back upon the common law and deny administrative authority."

The value of the book is enhanced by thorough documentation, careful arrangement, and concise presentation.

EMMETTE S. REDFORD.

The University of Texas.

Geiger, George R., *The Philosophy of Henry George*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. xix, 581.)

This is another of the works on the political and economic theories of Henry George that have been made possible through the assistance of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. In many ways, it is the best treatment of the Georgist philosophy, if his thought may be so dignified, that has as yet been accomplished.

The general organization of the book is novel, if not even more objectionable for other reasons. A short biography is set forth in the early portion, followed by a liberal critique of his general theory. This philosophic analysis is accomplished in a generally satisfactory manner, though the reader may find himself wondering at the reason for including a chapter entitled "George and Herbert Spencer" in a discussion of George in relation to economics, socialism, and religion. Also, at the close of this part of the volume, there is a long and somewhat chaotic account of the epistemologic aspects of the present-day Georgist doctrine. This feature might well be

germane to a study on contemporary political and economic thought, but it can scarcely be logically included in a volume devoted to the philosophy of a man who was a powerful figure of fifty years ago. Part II is given over to a description of George's ethical doctrine, which, incidentally, includes more of the ethics of the author than of the "Sage of San Francisco."

Henry George has proved to be an enigma to most of those who have sought to explain him. His ideas were of such an indefinite nature as to be easily translatable to the will of the interpreter. Thus, he came to mean all things to all people, almost as readily as did *Le Contrat Social* come to support the contentions of either individual or community rights theorists.

George may well come to be regarded as the most vital American figure of the last half of the Nineteenth Century. An evangelist rather than a close thinker, he came to popularize the idea of reform until the reformist became almost respectable. Many of the leading Muckrakers were avowed single taxers, and most of this group were indebted to him for much of the *élan* that was theirs in the struggle against the encroachments of corporate wealth. Professor Geiger admits the lack of definiteness in George's theories and he pays fitting tribute to the platform ability of his subject. Yet there is nowhere in the volume an incisive picture of the man that was George, of the supreme egoist, of the consummate critic who could hardly brook criticism, of the doctrinaire who was imbued with such a degree of doctrinairism as to consent to stand for political office upon any political platform that offered him an opportunity.

The most distinctive part of the book contains the author's interpretation of George's idea of natural rights. The reformer is presented as the typical English theorist who, even though not admitting it, possessed an unconscious belief in the existence of certain inalienable rights that sprang from the very nature of things. To George, these natural rights were as unquestionable as the tenets of Christian theology. Both were living, real, vital. Neither could, with justice, be denied to man; and though George was willing, and even urgent, to restrict the scope of property rights, he would not go so far as to deny the right to own goods of other character. And though many will support the Georgist contention that land values are, for the most part, the result of society itself, there is little reason to believe that land is the only form of property that so depends upon the existence of community life.

On the whole, the volume is written with greater detachment, and with more scholarship, than are the works of George's son, Louis Post, and the other single tax exponents.

CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

University of Oklahoma.

Gee, Wilson, *The Social Economics of Agriculture*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. x, 696.)

American agriculture has had many ups and downs, but never has it faced a crisis so threatening in its possibilities as that of the present. Two generations ago the failure of the agricultural markets would have been less serious, for the farmers of that day were still near enough to the self-sufficiency of the pioneer to return to it if necessary. Now the old domestic arts are lost and the farmer is caught in the meshes of an industrial system

from which there is no escape. The only adjustment he can make to the low price of his product is to lower his standard of living. With competition becoming keener as a result of the recent reversal of rural-urban migration, the American farm population seems destined to sink to the level of an old-world peasantry unless a miracle intervenes.

Although the signs of this change have been apparent for a long time, few writers in the fields of rural sociology and economics have recognized them. Most books on the subject treat farm life as if through the application of individual intelligence and industry the farm could always be made to yield that full combination of satisfactions required for contentment. It is a great relief to find a writer who recedes somewhat from this view. Professor Gee in his *Social Economics of Agriculture*, though not in any sense pessimistic, nonetheless tacitly admits that the future of the American farmer is not as bright as could be desired. It is encouraging to read such a book, not because it corroborates a sad outlook, but because a recognition of the true state of affairs may lead ultimately to a diagnosis and cure.

As a text, Professor Gee's book promises well. It includes, as the title indicates, both the sociological and the economic treatments of farm life. In view of the close relationship existing between these aspects of farming, the combination is most fortunate. Even in institutions where the customary division of departments provides for separate courses in sociology and economics, this text will be useful. It is impossible to understand the economics of farming without a knowledge of rural social life, and *vice versa*.

The materials presented in this book are well organized and clearly written. Brief, well chosen quotations give variety to the work and add interest to the reading. Questions and bibliographies at the ends of the chapters provide, respectively, the basis for class discussion and the means of further study. In addition to what is more generally included under the terms sociology and economics, this volume contains a few chapters of historical introduction and several dealing with the farmer's political problems. These chapters serve to round out and complete the book in a most satisfactory way.

CARL M. ROSENQUIST.

The University of Texas.

Hoover, Calvin B., *Germany Enters the Third Reich*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. 243.)

Professor Calvin B. Hoover, whose well-received volume on *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia* appeared but recently, has contributed in the present book an arresting study of the political currents and cross-currents of a most significant portion of a distracted Europe. The title of the volume reveals as clearly as need be its character, for it treats primarily of Germany's entrance into Herr Hitler's promised Third Reich. Chapter I deals with the economic system which obtained in the Reich prior to February 1, 1933, and the conclusion is reached that, notwithstanding certain evidences to the contrary, the system was essentially one of capitalism. Chapter II outlines briefly the attitude of the proletariat, the peasants, the Junkers, the middle class, the students, and the industrialists toward the system, revealing a state of mind among the masses of the people which

made easy the way of those who demanded drastic change and offered concrete plans for its accomplishment. Chapter III traces "The Collapse of Marxian Socialism" primarily to the leaders of the Social Democrats and the Communists, who failed first to make adequate opportunities for their respective causes and secondly to seize upon those offered. Chapter IV summarizes the vicissitudes of politics and more particularly the fortunes (or better, the misfortunes) of the various Governments from Brüning through von Schleicher. Chapter V brings Hitler to power; the chapter following reveals chiefly how he solidified his hold on the nation. Chapters VII, VIII, and IX treat in turn of the party program and the characteristics of Nazism, the economic aspects of the movement, and "Some International Consequences of the Third Reich." In volume, somewhat more than half the book is devoted to what may be called roughly background, somewhat less than half to an analysis of Hitlerism proper.

It is wholly probable that certain of the author's conclusions will draw vigorous fire from the critics. For example, the statement that "As one surveys the series of events from the fall of the Brüning cabinet to the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor, one is compelled to admire Hitler's brilliant strategy and to recognize that here is genius" (p. 94) is not likely to be received with equal enthusiasm in all quarters. On the other hand, however, may be cited the allusion to a statement made by Hitler as being "... not only absolutely false but ... not even clever, ..." (p. 221). Apparently there is basis here for criticism by the pro-Hitlerite as well as by the anti, which is to say that, since neither is likely to be satisfied by the book, neither has cause for dissatisfaction. To the reviewer it appears that the volume is as accurate and as objective as one man might have made it. In addition, it is well and interestingly written. There may be a better book on Hitler and Hitlerism, but the present writer has not seen one.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN.

The University of Texas.

Miller, Sidney L., *Inland Transportation: Principles and Policies*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933, pp. 799.)

This revision and extension of the author's *Railway Transportation* is in every respect a valuable addition to the literature in the field. With mature judgment and commendable courage he wrestles with such subjects as "Capitalization and Capital Value," "Rate Making," and "Comparative Railway Charges"; and we are left, purposely perhaps, after reading these chapters, with the sense that value and price considerations in transportation are heavily weighted with imponderables. But we are not left dangling, entirely. After weighing both sides of a question, and after due consideration of historical development, the author freely makes suggestions for improvement. Careful analysis, with close reference to historical development, is characteristic of the whole book.

There are a surprisingly small number of errors for such a long work. A few sentences are not clear in meaning, as the reference to the Illinois Central grant on page 70, and the description of the "eveners" on page 112, while a phrase here and there might have been chosen with greater care.

A wish might be expressed for a more careful choice and use of graphic materials. But on the whole, the book is well and interestingly written, and should be widely used as a text in transportation courses.

The treatment is carefully balanced throughout. Parts I and II are largely historical, a story of public misunderstanding of the transportation problem. Part III tells of the railway service from the standpoint of business administration. Part IV deals principally with the problems of railway regulation. Part V is concerned with the inland transportation problem as a whole, and seeks an answer to the question—"How can a unified transportation system be brought about?"

Our political leaders should become acquainted with the chapters on inland waterways and motor transportation. The author proves conclusively that the largest portion of public funds spent in the development of our rivers and canals has been entirely wasted; and that the trucks and buses are favored by heavy subsidies at great social cost. He disabuses the mind, too, of an error that is all too firmly entrenched, i.e., that a heavy investment of public funds is needed to rehabilitate and to modernize the railways. Truly, the railways need money at low interest rates; but the railway executives are probably better judges than are the political leaders of the use of funds in the profitable extension, coördination, and supplementary development of the transportation system. What our transportation system needs the most is a helpful attitude from the public toward the railway as the most reliable and responsible carrier of persons and goods.

FREDERICK L. RYAN.

University of Oklahoma.

Teggart, Richard Victor, *Thorstein Veblen: a Chapter in American Economic Thought*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932, pp. vii, 126.)

The apparent revival in the study of the economic and political doctrines of the late Thorstein Veblen results, presumably, from the apparent nullification of success economics; and scholars are beginning to understand why that great economic philosopher insisted that the American system represented a dangerous struggle between the industrial and the business interests, between the engineers and the merchants. While he lived, the successful business men and their academic supporters stigmatized his theories as the propaganda of a trouble-maker. And they did not hesitate to consign him and his doctrines to an appropriate radical purgatory.

The present study is not a favorable one. It strives too hard to explain an intricate theoretical system, attributing this and that influence in the formulation of the completed, or finished, theory. Throughout, the author reveals a trenchant desire to condemn that which he regards as an unworthy eclecticism, as if any thinker was forced to take full doses of a particular theory without flinching. One must, apparently, be either a positivist, an idealist, a scientific socialist, or an anarchist. There is no middle ground, and if one stops short of the absolute, he is damned for inconsistency or intellectual cowardice. It reminds one of the caustic observation of Bertram Russell in regard to the democratic manner of considering political issues—one must argue that either zero or one hundred degrees (Centigrade) constitutes the ideal temperature for a work room.

The author marshals a comparatively generous array of data concerning the social and economic theories of the past hundred and fifty years. His intentions may indeed be worthy, and I have no reason whatever to doubt them, but nevertheless he reminds me of a not too experienced apprentice examining the cabinet of a professional apothecary. And the intellectual juices that result from some of the experimental concoctions are not, by any means, pleasing to take.

There are many, I presume, who will share with me my disagreement with the author in his interpretation of Veblen—that he was merely a country boy who came to town! He might well have been all that and never produced an economic doctrine that promises some time to become the nucleus of an whole school of politico-economic thought. He may have picked up his original dislike and distrust of the merchant class from watching its representatives fleece unsuspecting agriculturists in the small town; but he may also have strengthened that feeling as a result of careful examination of economic theory and practice. Veblen came of immigrant stock. His viewpoint was naturally European rather than otherwise. He examined the Marxist thesis and came to believe much in it, but he doubted that the scientific socialists were justified in their optimism relating to the stabilization of the revolution. I can see no reason why he should not have searched for some other method of leadership. The same crisis of thought has driven many sincere men from the socialist fold.

CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

University of Oklahoma.

Holmes, R. H., *Rural Sociology*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932, pp. vii, 408.)

The sociology of the open country has been generally omitted from textbooks in introductory sociology. For the most part introductory texts have dealt with urban phenomena. Because of the omission of rural considerations in introductory texts, the field of rural sociology has tended to develop as a separate specialism. The result has been a rather appreciable number of books generally designated as "Rural Sociology." Added emphasis has been given to the rural field as a separate and distinct field of sociological development through research awards to land grant colleges for rural studies by the United States Department of Agriculture.

Regardless of whether the trend toward the development of rural sociology as a separate specialism may prove ultimately to be an advantage or a disadvantage to the general field of sociology, the fact remains that the differentiation has already proceeded to the point where there have been organized separate divisions or departments of rural sociology in institutions where a regularly organized department of sociology already existed. Aside from one or more attempts at a coördination of the two, most of the treatises have been devoted to either one or the other of the two fields.

Professor Holmes in his "Rural Sociology" makes repeated references to and comparisons with the urban group. His work, however, should be classified as definitely belonging in the division of rural sociology. The writer apparently is thoroughly acquainted with the rural picture, at least within

the great Middle Western area. His treatment of the "family farm institution" and the "family-farm group" are points of departure from the previously existing textbooks in the field, and as such, should be considered as contributions of considerable merit. There are also occasional glimpses of the psychological interpretation of rural society which the author is careful to attribute to the influence of his former teacher, Charles Horton Cooley.

A possible weakness of the work rests in the lack of orderly development. The chapters are each more or less independent entities and do not follow each other in any apparent logical order. Whereas the opening chapters are concerned with the farm family, the treatment of the other social institutions is scattered more or less indiscriminately throughout the volume. A further possible weakness rests in an apparent bias of the writer against the farm. Rather than sticking to the facts and allowing the facts to speak for themselves, the writer occasionally gives vent to his own opinions in a way that detracts from the effectiveness of the book. At times this bias reaches the stage of dogmatism. Practically throughout, the book is highly opinionated and argumentative.

J. J. Rhyne.

University of Oklahoma.

BOOK NOTES

The Era of the Muckrakers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932, pp. xi, 254) by C. C. Regier is an excellent presentation of the ideas of the more influential "muckrakers" who contributed to the newly developed popular magazines of the first decade of the present century. Their attacks upon the trusts, economic barons, political bosses, and other enemies of the public good of a generation ago in some respects resemble the attacks of the present era of depression upon the forces which have hitherto controlled our economic and political organization. The chief difference is, however, that the present critics make war upon the very foundations of the economic order and demand a state with the broadest functions, whereas the muckrakers of the days of the first Roosevelt were attempting to a large extent to restore the purity of an economic and political system which, as they saw it, had been corrupted, but the foundations of which only a minority of them questioned. Much that the muckrakers pinned their faith to the present generation of reformers have brushed aside as futile or ineffective, but much of the thinking of these popular writers of 1900-1912 laid the foundations for contemporary thought. *Munsey's*, *McClure's*, the *Cosmopolitan*, the *Arena*, the *American Magazine*, and other popular progressive periodicals of thirty years ago through the distinguished writings of Ida M. Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Charles Edward Russell, and many others exerted a profound influence on the thinking of the American people and prepared the way for the broader and more fundamental political and economic thought of the present. The era of the muckrakers was an important period in American history and American political thought. No student of political thought can afford to neglect it, nor can he afford to pass over the important and carefully done book under consideration.

O. D. W.

Why did Mr. Lloyd George introduce "the People's Budget"? Why did Mr. Baldwin lose in 1923? What constitutes a successful political "surprise"? Why did the Labour Party's offensive fail in 1926? Is it an advantage to a party to have a leader of outstanding personality such as Mr. Gladstone? Mr. Philip G. Cambray, honorary secretary of the League of Industry, and a man of long experience in the central office of the Conservative Party, attempts in *The Game of Politics* (London: John Murray, 1933, pp. v, 194), to answer these and many other questions. He advances the theory that political parties, in time of peace, should be as highly organized and as eager to grasp every opportunity to entrench themselves more deeply in the confidence of the people and secure all advantageous positions as the military forces of a nation are in time of war and peace. The book is a rather exhaustive study of the psychology of the "behindthescene" manipulations of political party leaders and their effects upon the voting populace. Throughout the thirteen chapters it makes clear the absolute necessity not only of pouncing upon eligible issues as they arise, but also of constant effort, lest the opposition catch the "Ins" napping, thereby causing a party once in great favor to fall ignominiously. Air-tight organization and efficient political machinery, adequate financing, the proper use of propaganda and election offensives, the ordinary futility of defensive tactics, the value of the surprise, the concentration of effort, national security, and political strategy are all treated in an easy and non-technical manner.

W. E. M.

In his *Prolegomena to Relativity Economics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. xiv, 171), Ralph W. Souter seeks to examine the concept of economics and outline a probable future economics philosophy. In so doing, he attempts to lay a metaphysical basis for his new concept of relativity economics. Taking the Marshallian long and short curves as standards, he proceeds to subject those concepts to existing systems of thought in the other social sciences and related disciplines. As Marshall contended that statics, in regard to economics, occupied no separate sphere of its own, but was instead only a stage in dynamics, one might say that the author's clarity represented but a degree of the more comprehensive state, obfuscation. And the students of the dismal science may well entertain the hope that, when he comes to elaborate the various propositions of his prolegomena, the cruel spatial and temporal limitations to clarity, so apparent in the present volume, will be overcome in a fuller presentation.

C. A. M. E.

In *The United States Employment Service* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933, pp. xii, 192), Ruth M. Kellogg gives an exceedingly damaging account of a sorry chapter in policy and administration. The book covers the history of the Employment Service from 1917 to 1932, but attention is focussed on the "Doak Reorganization." The unsympathetic attitude of the Hoover administration toward the establishment of an adequate national service, the weakening influence of the spoils system, and the lack of correlation of the national service with state and local agencies are patently portrayed. An extended field-study formed the basis for a well-rounded

picture, and a dozen tables confirm the conclusions in the text as to the inadequacy of the official services. The book is now chiefly of historical interest, but it is nevertheless an able testimonial to the wisdom of the inauguration of a new chapter in 1933.

E. S. R.

"The Crisis of Democracy," published by *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* in 1933 (Vol. 169, September, 1933), is a timely symposium on a subject of grave concern at the present moment. It consists of twenty articles dealing with all the more important problems of American democracy—public administration, legislation, the judicial system, practical politics, and citizen education and participation in public affairs. The contributors are leading thinkers in the subjects respectively assigned to them. William B. Munro, Thomas H. Reed, Leonard D. White, Paul H. Douglas, and T. V. Smith are among their number.

O. D. W.

The National Recovery Program (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1933, pp. 80), by James D. Magee, Williard E. Atkins, and Emanuel Stein and the *Outline of the "New Deal" Legislation* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, pp. v, 90), by Howard S. Piquet, are serviceable manuals for teachers and students who may find it difficult to secure adequate materials on the "New Deal" legislation. The first mentioned publication contains excerpts from the statutes and other documents, descriptive material, and brief analyses by the writers; the second is a careful outline of the terms of all the important statutes which set up the Roosevelt program.

O. D. W.

Labor and the New Deal, by Emanuel Stein, Carl Raushenbush, and Lois MacDonald (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1934, pp. 95), is adapted in style and content to the needs of the layman or the student with little background in economics or government. It contains a summary of the provisions concerning labor in the National Industrial Recovery Act, a brief treatment of the functions of the judiciary in determining questions affecting labor, and a summary of the past attitude of the courts on specific points. Excerpts from court decisions of the usual case-book length follow the discussion of several questions.

E. S. R.

Unemployment Relief Legislation, Federal and State, 1933, by Marietta Stevenson and Lucy Brown (Chicago: Public Information Service, 1933, pp. 19), contains a topical summary of relief laws of 1933, a table of measures adopted by the states, and a selected bibliography of government publications on relief legislation in 1933.

E. S. R.

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